



SANSKRIT BUDDHISM
IN BURMA





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SANSKRIT BUDDHISM IN BURMA

BY

NIHAR-RANJAN RAY

M.A. (Cal.), D.S. LETT. & PHIL. (Londn), DIP. LIT. (Lond.).


Mrinalini Gold-medalist, Griffiths Prize-man

Premchand Roychand Scholar

*Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture
University of Calcutta*

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To
Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW
M. A., B. L., Ph. D.
as a token of
admiration and gratitude

PREFACE

This monograph, like my earlier one on *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta University, 1932), attempts to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmese history; at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries. It was originally conceived as a part of a more comprehensive work on the *History of Buddhism in Burma from the earliest times to the British conquest**, mainly from the historical point of view; but the importance of the subject, as subsequently it appeared to me, justified an independent treatment, and when Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology in the University of Leiden, approved of my choice, I decided to present it as a dissertation for the Degree of Doctor in Letters and Philosophy of the University of Leiden which with the now well-known Kern Institute as an adjunct has developed into an important centre of Oriental study and research. The following pages embody the results of my researches in this particular subject.

The title of the dissertation, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, requires a word of explanation. *Mahāyāna Buddhism in Burma* was out of the question, as my researches led me to infer that the Sarvāstivāda was also at one time prevalent in Burma, as also Tantrayāna and Mantrayāna. The choice lay therefore between adopting either *Northern Buddhism* . . . or *Sanskrit Buddhism* . . . ; but as Northern Buddhism is an expression to which exception has often rightly been taken by scholars, I adopted the latter, to indicate nothing more than those forms of Buddhism whose canons are supposed to have been written and preserved in Sanskrit. It is just a convenient title, and nothing more.

* This is now ready for publication.

The subject of this dissertation is but little known, and very little has so far been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist to-day amongst scholars about it. The most important contribution was made by M. Charles Duroiselle in his admirable article on "The Aris of Burma and Tāntrik Buddhism" in the *As. R. A. S. J.*, 1915-'16; but his work has not yet been followed up except in some meagre and stray notices in the *J. B. R. S.*, the *As. R. A. S. J.*, and the *As. R. A. S. B.* which have been referred to in their proper places in the body of this monograph. No apology is therefore needed, I hope, when I venture to present the subject in the form of a short treatise; but it must be considered as nothing more than a beginning in the study of a subject which requires further elucidation; and I am almost certain that further archaeological research especially with regard to the wall-paintings of Pagan from their iconographic standpoint, and the examination of the contents of old monastic libraries in Upper Burma, will add to our knowledge of the subject.

The materials used in preparing this monograph are mostly archaeological, but it will be seen that I have also drawn from literary sources, but only so far as they are substantiated by archaeological evidence so as to cover all relevant inscriptions, sculptures, paintings and monuments known up to date from Burma. While a fair number of them have already been published in the Reports of the Archaeological Surveys of India and Burma, there has been incorporated information from a large number of sources that are here brought to light for the first time. Apart from new materials that are now made known, there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus, I have been led to infer the prevalence of the Sarvāstivāda in Old Prome, the definite existence of Mahāyānist and Tantric texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of hitherto unrecognized representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Mahāyāna and its allied pantheons. I have also been able, I hope, to establish the identity of the Samapakuṭṭakas with the Āris, both branded as heterodox sects; to indicate the time when and place whence the Mahāyāna and its allied cults penetrated Burma, and the fact of their existence for a long time even after the glorious reformation of Anawrahta in 1057—1058 A. D. I have also given sufficient indications of the part played by the followers

of these cults, whose number must have been considerable at one time, in the religious life of Upper Burma. Some of the identifications of gods and goddesses may be held as doubtful — the identification marks and attributes in a number of instances are either absent or indistinct —, but the major conclusions based on them and on other materials, equally important, are expected to endure. These conclusions have been summarised in the final chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my most pleasant duty to record here my deepest feeling of regard and gratitude to Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who as my promoter took pains to go through the entire manuscript with scrupulous care, suggesting improvements, and always favouring me with his wide knowledge and experience. He did much more than this; he threw the doors of the Kern Institute open to me for my studies; he did all that he could to make my five months' stay in Leiden profitable; and, most of all, it was through his kind efforts and by virtue of his recommendations that the Ministry of Education of the Government of Netherlands gave me special leave to go in for the highest academic distinction of the University of Leiden in so short a time. To him, and also to Mrs. Vogel, I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks and gratitude.

I owe my stay in Europe for about a year and a half to the kind and affectionate patronage of Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, who as Vice-Chancellor, and President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, University of Calcutta, made it possible for me to enjoy special study leave privilege that enabled, among other things, the preparation of this humble work. Even in the midst of his heavy duties he has always cared to keep himself in touch with the work I have been doing in Europe; his words of encouragement and his affectionate concern for success in my endeavours have been a source of strength and inspiration to me. My feeling of regard, loyalty and gratitude towards him are too deep for words; and I cannot do more than merely record my indebtedness to him.

This monograph owes its publication in its present form to the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., who is

widely known in India and Europe for his valuable contributions to the study of Pāli literature and Buddhism as well as for his kind patronage of scholarship. To him I dedicate this humble piece of work as a token of admiration and gratitude.

It is my duty and pleasure to thank my friend Miss Jessy Blom for kindly preparing the Index.

I must also acknowledge the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of Burma in kindly extending me permission to publish the illustrations that accompany this monograph.

The book had to be hurried through the press in three weeks which has led to a few printing errors for which I crave the indulgence of readers, but none of them, it is hoped, is of any great consequence. An errata has been supplied at the end.

Kern Institute, Leiden
December 10, 1936.

NIHARRANJAN RAY



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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (London)
<i>ARASB</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma (Rangoon)
<i>ARASI</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Simla and Delhi)
<i>BEFEO</i>	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi)
<i>Cal. Rev.</i>	The Calcutta Review (Calcutta)
<i>Ep. Burm.</i>	Epigraphia Birmanica (Rangoon)
<i>Ep. Ind.</i>	Epigraphia Indica (Simla and Delhi)
<i>Ind. Ant.</i>	Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
<i>Ind. Hist. Quart.</i>	The Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)
<i>J. A.</i>	Journal Asiatique (Paris)
<i>J. A. S. B.</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)
<i>J. B. R. S.</i>	Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon)
<i>J. I. S. O. A.</i>	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Calcutta)
<i>P. T. S.</i>	Pali Text Society (London)

Other abbreviations are easily intelligible

INTRODUCTION

As seen on the map of Asia, Burma looks as if it were an outstretched hand of the Indian continent rather than a part of the South-East Asiatic countries bordering the Indian Ocean, which collectively we know as Further India. Indeed, ethnologically and linguistically, and also geographically, Burma is more a component part of the whole area now covered by Burma, Siam, Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, than of India proper to whose cultural influence she, like the rest of the countries of Indo-China, submitted herself for centuries. But notwithstanding that strong cultural domination by India, mainly exerted through the all-pervading faith of Theravāda Buddhism, Burma maintained from the very beginning of her history a distinct political, social, and even cultural character. Unlike Ceylon, Burma hardly ever merged herself into the currents and cross-currents of Indian historical and cultural evolution, and it is only with the British conquest and consequent unification of Burma with the Indian empire, evidently for administrative convenience, that the country came within the domain of practical Indian life and politics. Otherwise, there is no historical reason why Burma should be considered, as it is so often done, as a part of India. Her history runs a parallel course, so far as relations with India are concerned, with that of the other countries of Further India, and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, collectively known to historians as Indonnesia. The Indo-Burmese chapter of the history of Burma can be understood in its proper perspective and real significance only when we take this vital historical fact into account. It is also a key to a better understanding of the history of Indian cultural influence in Burma.

BURMA PROFESSIONS THE BUDDHISM OF THE THERAVĀDA SCHOOL

Like Siam, Burma till to day is professedly Buddhist, following the Pāli canon of the Southern School. Nowhere else in the countries



and islands once won over to Indian cultural enterprise is Indianism to-day a living and regulating factor of any importance¹ and nowhere an Indian faith is of deeper significance, or wields a stronger influence in the socio-political life of the people than Buddhism does in Burma. Indeed, Burma owes her spiritual and cultural existence to the undying appeal of Theravāda Buddhism which has remained the chief factor in the life and character of the average Burman as of the entire Burmese nation.

The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Pagan in Upper Burma repeated again and again in Pali and Burmese chronicles and Mon inscriptions of Burma² is much too well known to need any description here. Suffice it to say that it was introduced from Thabon, the Talung capital of Lower Burma known in ancient days as Kammadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Talungs, while Upper Burma was known as Mrammadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Burmese. This historic event took place in the third quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian era in 1057 or perhaps, 1058 to be more exact, when Pagan was fast rising to importance.

At the end of a long siege Thabon ceased to be a royal capital and Anawrahta (1044-1077) the victorious king of Pagan, returned to his capital with the most valuable treasures of the faith, namely the entire host of monks and with them thirty-two white elephants, each laden with scriptures and relics, all belonging to Manuha, the Talung king of Thabon. Thabon was annexed and Manuha kept for the rest of his life a captive at Myirpagan, a suburban village near Pagan, while his scriptural treasures were housed in the Bodagataik (Irpataka library, the library building standing to this day not very far from the famous Ananda Temple. The host of captive monks were released and pushed into the service of propagating the religion of Śakyamuni far and wide in the realm of the new dynasty.

¹ Except perhaps in Bali where Brahmanism wields a strong influence even to-day, and where one can also detect some faint traces of Buddhism.

² For example, the *Sri Anantarama*, the *Itimannan*, *Suvaran*, the most important Burmese chronicle, and the long Kalyani inscriptions of King Dhamma Ceti of Pegu (*Ep. Burm.* III, 4).

See also my *Historical Studies on Burma* (Calcutta University, 1932) pp. 1-2. Also my forthcoming volume on *History of Buddhism in Burma*, Chap. I (ready for the press).

of kings. Thus once again the superior culture of the vanquished predominated over that of the victors, and the Southern Buddhism of Lower Burma gradually spread throughout Upper Burma till it embraced, after various vicissitudes of fortune, the whole country under one religious organisation. From the eleventh century onwards Burma has never wavered from her faith in Buddhism.

The question now will naturally be asked: When did Thaiton receive the faith of Theravâda Buddhism, or more correctly speaking the Hinayâna form of Buddhism? Are we to accept the tradition, so insistent in Burmese records, of the Asoka mission of Sona and Uttara to Suyannabûdhi? Shall we also believe the later tradition, equally vocal in Burmese chronicles, of Buddhaghosa's crossing over to Burma and preaching there the religion of the Master?

Available evidence is so meagre that none of these questions can be answered satisfactorily. Recent criticism has thrown doubt on both traditions¹ referred to above, though evidence is daily accumulating in favour of an early introduction of Buddhism in Burma.

All that can be asserted with certainty at this stage of historical research is that the introduction of the faith must have taken place not later than the 6th century, but the actual circumstances are unknown. The earliest epigraphic record found in Burma had not from Thaiton, but from the small village of Hmawza, six miles north of the modern town of Pegu. The village which is scattered over with ancient remains has been identified with the old capital city of the Pyus, the Piao of the Chinese; indeed it was the heart of the country known to the Chinese as Shih-chia-ta-lo and to the Burmese as Hārikhattara (Sanskrit Śīksetra).

The inscriptions referred to consist of two gold plates discovered at Maunggan² a small village close to Hmawza, three fragments of a stone inscription³ found while clearing some debris round the base of the Kawbawgyi Pagoda in Hmawza proper, a line of inscription

¹ Foulkes, *Buddhaghosa* *Ind. Ant.* XIX, 1889, p. 112 Smith, *Asoka's alleged mission to Pegu* *Ind. Ant.* XXXIV, 1914 Hackmann, *Buddhism as a religion* p. 63 Finot, *The Legend of Buddhaghosa* *Col. He.* 1923 pp. 63—67.

² *Ep. Ind.* V, pp. 101 ff. Finot, *Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme en birman*, *J. A.*, Just-Aout, 1912, p. 121 ff.

³ Finot, *ibid.*; *An. R. A. S. B.*, 1924, p. 22.

around the rim of the lid of a small relic casket, also discovered at Hmawza¹, a book of twenty leaves of gold, each inscribed on one side in the manner of the old palm-leaf manuscripts of India, placed within two covers of the same metal², and an inscribed gold leaf from the Kyindawza village, also near Hmawza³. The language of these inscriptions is Pāli and what is more significant, they are all written in a character which is closely akin to the Kānāḍā Telugu script of Butler but which, Elliot prefers to call Kāḷamba. Paleographically, these epigraphic records cannot be dated far out of the 6th century of the Christian era, if not earlier, but the most interesting fact is that all these records contain extracts from well-known Pāli texts like the *Paṭhanga* and the *Anguttara Nikaya*, and one of them, the gold leaf book, contains in one place, things, the *Patira samuppāda sutta*, viz. the *sutta* itself with its *naṇḍa* but without the *vaḍḍhanta*⁴.

The extracts, however, are not quoted verbatim. The evident conclusion to be drawn from these records is that Pāli Buddhism was already an established religion at least as early as the 5th or 6th century, that Pāli Buddhism is the language of the Theravāda, was known and understood in ancient Burma by at least a section of the people, that Pāli canonical texts were studied in their doctrinal aspects and finally, what is most important, that the original home from where this Pāli Buddhism was introduced in Lower Burma was evidently the Aranya Pāḷya region of South India, from such centres as Amaravati, Nāgapatikonda, Kāñḍipattam, Kaveripattaram and Uragapattam, where Theravāda Buddhism during these centuries had established firm and flourishing strongholds, and which places, particularly the last three, are intimately associated with the Buddhakṣosa tradition.⁵

¹ *An. RAS I*, 1926-'27, pp. 172-73.

² *An. RAS I*, 1926-'27, p. 172.

³ *An. RAS I*, 1925-'26, pp. 100-02.

⁴ These records have been analysed and discussed in the first chapter of my forthcoming volume on *Buddhism in Burma from the earliest times to the British conquest*, ready for the press. There will be, too, an attempt to reconstruct the early history of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma and its later vicissitudes after the introduction of the religion into Pagan in 1057, A.D. down to 1824.

⁵ These findings tend to point to the conclusion that Theravāda Buddhism was in Burma to-day and the Ceylonese form was originally introduced

EARLIEST CONTACTS OF BURMA WITH INDIA EVIDENCE OF
ARCHAEOLOGY

It should incidentally be mentioned that these epigraphic records, besides being the earliest evidences of the introduction of Buddhism in Burma, are also the earliest documents of the history of Indo-Burmese relations. It is also worth mentioning that the earliest documents of Brahminism in Lower Burma, from Old Prome, images of Brahminical gods and goddesses stylistically datable in about the seventh century, owe their inspiration to the Veng-Palaya art tradition, and those from Dagon, belonging to about the ninth and tenth centuries, seem to be affiliated to the Orissan tradition of sculpture.¹ In any case, available evidence at our disposal tends to show that during the early centuries the current of Indian colonial enterprise in Lower Burma flowed mainly from the eastern coastal regions of South India, extending from ancient Kalyuga down to the Cola country.

INDIAN EXPANSION IN INDOCHINA AND INDONESIAN LITERATURE DOCUMENTS

[illegible]

¹ See my *Grammatical & Lexical Studies* pp. 75-76; plates II and V.

historical fact though the source of inspiration is now mainly centred in the realm of the Palavas which extended in the seventh and eighth centuries all over the south-eastern coast from the Godavari region down to at least the Kaveri. All the epigraphic records, some dated and the rest dateable on paleographical grounds from c. 400 A.D. to about the middle of the eighth century—are written in what is known as Palava-Grantha characters of South-Eastern India¹. The majority of these records are Brahmanical but there are quite a number which point to the prevalence of Buddhism during these centuries in the islands and countries of the South-Eastern seas. This is the inscription of the malānīvika Buddhagayā, found near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in the Wellesley Province of the Malay Peninsula is a Buddhist document, paleographically dateable in the 5th century, as perhaps also the Kedah inscription (found at Kedah near Bukit Marun) of still earlier date. The Faling-Lowa inscription of Samatva, discovered not very far from modern Palembang and dated in the Śaka year 600 (684 A.D.), is a religious document and if the terms occurring in it are any indication, it is Buddhist (compare such terms as *śāhā dācitta ratnatraya vaprasarira anuttaratthasamyaksam-bhūdhī* etc.²).

From West Borneo we have a series of as many as eight short Sanskrit epigraphs, paleographically dateable in the fifth century which definitely testify to the existence of Buddhism in that part of the island at that early period³. One of the earliest inscriptions of the ancient kingdom of Lou-man, discovered at the monument of Fā Prehon in the province of Batt, and dateable paleographically and with the help of the Chinese texts at the disposal of M. Pelliot, in about the first quarter of the seventh century, is also frankly a Buddhist document. It states, among other things, that Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha are in a flourishing condition and though the purport of the inscription is not clear, it can be surmised that it

¹ For a revised and latest study of these inscriptions see *Epigraphy of India: Aryan culture during Palava rule as reflected by inscriptions* by B. Chhabra, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, 1935, no. 1, pp. 14–55.

² *Ind. Arch.* XXX pp. 1–28; A.O. 4, p. 1; Chhabra, *op. cit.* pp. 29–30.

³ *Ind. Arch.* 1935, 11, pp. 40 ff. Cf. also *op. cit.* pp. 43 ff. Vogel, *Bijdragen* LXXIV, 1908, pp. 167–172; LXXVI, pp. 431–434.

recorded the foundation of a Buddhist sanctuary.¹ This inscription studied along with other early inscriptions of Kamboja particularly with the Vishnuite inscription of Prince Gunavarman found among the ruins of the monuments of Prasat Prei Loeu on the hill of Thap-moon², reveals the interesting fact that in contemporary Kamboja as in Borneo Brahmanism and Buddhism existed side by side. It is significant that in Burma too during the early centuries of definite Indian contacts a similar state of affairs is equally noticeable, no less important is also the fact that as in Kamboja so in Burma the prevailing cult of Brahmanism was that of Vishnu.³ Another early dated inscription of Kamboja (Saka year 586 = 604 A.D.), the Vat Prey Viat Sanskrit inscription, is also definitely a Buddhist record speaking of two bhiksus, Ratnabharu and Ratnasomha who were born of the same mother (*vidaran*).⁴ That in Kamboja Buddhism flourished already in the later half of the fifth century A.D. is also attested to by Chinese texts which have yielded to M. Pei-hot the important information that in 484 A.D. Jayavarman (king of Funan who is also referred to in the inscription discovered at La Prei-m cited above), sent the Indian monk Śākya Nagasena to present a memorial in the Chinese Imperial court which began with a panegyric of the Emperor as one of the patrons of Buddhism in whose empire the Law flourished more and more.⁵

RELATIVE POSITION OF THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM IN FURTHER INDIA AND INDONESIA

SARVASTIVADA

It is difficult to ascertain to which school this early Buddhism of the Hinduised countries of the South Eastern seas owed its origin. It is possible that the Hinayana of the Sthavirayāna school may have preceded the Sarvāstivāda and the Mahāyāna but there is no definite evidence to help us in our assumption. If the language (Sanskrit) of the inscriptions of the Malay Peninsula West Borneo

¹ Coedès, *B E F E O.*, XXXI, pp. 1-11.

² Coedès, *ibid.*

³ See my *Brahmanical Gods*, pp. 45-49.

⁴ Hergauque, *Inscriptions*, pp. 61-62 (Chatterji, *Indian cultural influence in Cambodia*, p. 45).

⁵ Chatterji, *Indian cultural influence in Cambodia*, p. 22.

and Kariboya is any indication of the school, it may be inferred that the Buddhism we catch a glimpse of in them is of the Sarvāstivāda form. This inference gains strength from what we do know from Chinese sources about the state of religion in these islands and countries in the seventh century of the Christian era. When I-tsing visited Java (from Ceylon) in about 412 A.D., there were many Brahmins in the island, and Buddhism was practically of no importance. In fact, Java was mostly given up to Hinduism until it came under the political and cultural domination of the Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya. However, in other islands and countries of the region, so far as definite available evidence goes, Buddhism began to assert itself not earlier than the middle of the fifth century, so that when I-tsing towards the close of the seventh century wrote his celebrated *Record of the Buddhist Religion* (based on extensive travels in India, Ceylon, and the Indian Archipelago), he found that in the islands of the Southern Sea consisting of more than ten countries, the Mahāsarvastivāda nikāya had been universally adopted, except in Malaya (Su-Bhoja — Śrīvijaya — Sumatra) where there were a few who looked to the Mahāyāna.¹ And on this point I-tsing certainly could not misstate facts, for he himself subscribed to the school of the Sarvāstivāda.

Here then is the first problem before us. We know definitely that the Theravāda was prevalent in Burma from about the 5th century. But is it likely that the Sarvāstivāda was also known and practised in Burma in about the time I-tsing speaks of? Does I-tsing include any part of Burma when he speaks of the countries of the Southern Sea? Or else, is there any other independent evidence of the existence of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism in Burma? This is one of the first questions that we have to answer. If it had existed in Linyi (= Campa) where the Buddhists generally belonged to the Āryasammiti nikāya, though there were also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda nikāya,² as well as in Shih-chi-po-ti (= Dyavaviti near Ayutthaya in Siam) and I-tsing seems to suggest that it did, there is all likelihood that Burma, a close neighbour of these two countries, did not remain untouched by this wave of the Sarvāstivāda.

¹ Takakusu, *I-tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*.

² Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

MAHĀYĀNA

The gradual ascendancy of Śrīvijaya of Sumatra to the status of an imperial power, exercising sovereignty over the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago from the third quarter of the seventh century, introduces a new culture-complex into the early history of Indo-China and Indonesia. The earliest inscriptions of this new power, discovered in Sumatra, and three of them dated in Śaka years 605, 606 and 608 (683, 684 and 686 A.D.) are all written in what is now known as Old Malay, interpersed with a large number of Sanskrit words.¹ One of these, the Karang Luwu inscription (684 A.D.) referred to above, has a number of Sanskrit words that seem to point to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. This is perfectly in accord with what Liang Hsi-tso says about the Buddhism of Malaya (= S'at Bhoga = Srivijaya) at almost exactly the same time.² By the middle of the eighth century, the Srivijayan king of Śrīvijaya had already come into the possession not only of the Malay Peninsula but also of Java and the neighbouring islands. The earliest dated Śulendra record from the Malay Peninsula is from 690.³ It is written in Sanskrit, and records the erection of three brick temples dedicated by a Srivijayan king to the Sakya deity and his two associates, Pūṣpadeva and Vajrapāṇi. The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 667 which corresponds to 745 A.D.⁴ The earliest dated Śulendra inscription from Java is also a Malay-Sanskrit document. It is the celebrated Kalasan inscription dated in the Śaka year 700 (= 778 A.D.) which records the erection of a temple dedicated to the goddess Tara at the instance of the Srivijayan king of Śrīvijaya. The temple of Kalasan which stands to this day not very far from the magnificent Borobudur, is certainly the temple of Tara referred to in the inscription. Following the Kalasan record comes another inscription found at Kertarak and dated in the Śaka year 704 (= 782 A.D.) which refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mañjuśrīśa at the instance of the

¹ *Cordier, R.E.I.E.D.* XXX, pp. 2-5.

² Takakusu, *op. cit.*

³ *Hydragen*, *loc. cit.* p. 46; *En-Kien, Hondo /a, Genshōron*, and *issu*, p. 130; Chhabra, *op. cit.* pp. 20-21; Chatterji and Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Greater India Society, Calcutta, pp. 40-44.

⁴ Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

guru of a king who is described as the 'ornament of the Śaṅkera dynasty'.¹ The Nālanda copper-plate of Devapāla of Bengal (last quarter of the 9th century) granting some villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālanda, the celebrated seat of the Mahāyānist university, by Bhaṭṭaradeva of the Śaṅkera dynasty, and the Cola inscription (first quarter of the eleventh century) commemorating the gift of a village to a Buddhist vihāra at Negapatam, built by another king of the Śaṅkera dynasty, also reveal the fervent zeal and ardour of the kings of Śrīvijaya in the cause of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century containing miniature paintings of important Mahāyāna images at well-known centres of Buddhism has one painting representing Lokarāṭha at Śrīvijayapura in Suvarṇapura (Sumatra).² This Śrīvijaya, reputed as a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism, attracted the celebrated Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa (980-1053) in the eleventh century, who went there to consult a learned Buddhist monk in that distant island.³ And it is to the Śaṅkera dynasty of Suvarṇa that we owe the beautiful series of Mahāyānist temples now represented by the Candi Kaasan, the Candi Pawon and the Candi Meant, and perhaps also the magnificent Baribudhur.

The zeal of the Śaṅkeras for the cause of the Mahāyāna did not leave the neighbouring countries of Indo-China untouched and unaffected. It was probably under the aegis of this dynasty that the Mahāyāna spread to the Malay Peninsula which presumably was embraced within the Śrīvijaya empire till at least as late as the eleventh century. In the Cambridge MS. referred to above we have two inscriptions, one inscribed *Kaṭṭhaṭṭiṭṭe* (Katāṭha = Kheda) *Lokanāṭṭṭe Lokanāṭṭa dāṭṭa parivāṭṭa mīṭṭe* and another *Kaṭṭhaṭṭiṭṭe Vāṭṭaṭṭiparivāṭṭe Lokanāṭṭa*. Both of them perhaps refer to the same temple which presumably was dedicated to the Mahāyāna god Lokarāṭha.⁴ Dr. B. R. Chatterji has shown in his

¹ Camb. MS. no. Add. 1643. *Suvarṇapura Śrīvijayapura Lokanāṭṭa dāṭṭa mīṭṭe* fol. 100 a, v. 2, p. 105. Compare also in this connection another name as inscribed *Yāṭṭiṭṭe Vipāṭṭaṭṭa* in Camb. MS. no. Add. 1643 fol. 2, v. 7, p. 70; A. S. B. MS. no. A. 15, fol. 83 r^o, p. 79.

² S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*.

³ Camb. MS. no. Add. 1643 fol. 120 a, v. 2, p. 102. *Ibid* fol. 120 b, r. 4, p. 102.

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia that the Śaīendras of Śrīvijaya towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kambōja, a naval raid by Śrīvijaya on the capital of Kambōja is actually recorded, and it is held that the Kambōja king Jayavarman II (802—850) had been to Java (which is said to have included both Sumatra and Java) for some time. After his return to his own country Jayavarman built three capitals in succession: Hariharālaya, Amarendrapura and Mahendraparvata. Amarendrapura identified with Banteai Chmar has been found to be essentially a Mahayanist city presided over by Avalokiteśvara.¹ M. Fourn believed² that even Angkor Thom which is known to have been a Saiva city founded by the fervent Saiva Jayavarman began in reality as a Buddhist city founded by Jayavarman II. Recent discoveries at the ruins of city have yielded images of the Mahāyāna god Lokeshvara on the gates of the city, and in the temple of Bayon used an Avalokiteśvara image has been found. Between Angkor Thom and Banteai Chmar many vestiges of the Lokeshvaracult have been discovered, but all these representations of Mahāyānist divinities show signs of ruthless mutilation, evidently by later Sivaites. Dr. Chatterji suggests that the Mahāyāna came with Jayavarman II from Śrīvijaya.³ However, one may doubt⁴ if Jayavarman really returned a Buddhist from Java or whether Angkor Thom began as a Buddhist city, there can be no doubt about the existence of the Mahāyāna in the capital city of Kambōja in about the ninth century. The images of Mahāyāna deities found from amidst the ruins of the city are positive proofs of that fact. In about the tenth and eleventh centuries Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have grown more in popularity, for besides images and inscriptions testifying to the prevalence of the cult⁵ we have at least one reference to a temple of Tārā in Kambōja in the Cambridge MS.

¹ *B E F E O*, XXV, p. 294.

² *Notes Asiatiques*, I, pp. 227—250.

³ Chatterji, *op. cit.*

⁴ Nagai, *I. C. Ind. Hist. Quart.* VI, pp. 106—7.

⁵ King Rāmapravarman (1044—1050) is said to have consecrated several Mahāyāna images. Under his successor Jayavarman V (1050—1068) Mahāyāna Buddhism grew still more in importance.



referred to above. The miniature is inscribed *Kambojaleśa 2ā-
ra(h)*¹ and doubtless refers to a temple dedicated to that goddess.

In Campa too, Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished already in the ninth century. King Indravarman II (875-889 A.D.) was a fervent Buddhist and he was probably the builder of the Mahāyānist Buddhist shrines of Dong Duong dedicated to the god Lokeshvara. Towards the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, it gradually grew into importance. Prince Pū became king in 1081 with the title of Parāma Bodhisattva, while one of his successors, Jaya Indravarman IV (1163-1170) described himself as a learned scholar of the Mahāyāna and the Dharmasastras.

It is a significant fact that all the Sanskrit records which testify to the prevalence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Further India and Indochina are written no longer in the Pāliya Grantha character which had been the case till the middle of the eighth century, but in the North-Indian Nāgarī character, according to Dr. Chatterji, in the proto-Bengali character. This, backed by other arguments of historical interrelations between Eastern India and the countries and islands of the Southern Seas, led Dr. Chatterji and other scholars like Prof. N. J. Kram to hold that it was from Bengal and the Malay Peninsula that Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced into the islands of the Archipelago and the countries of Further India.²

TANTRAYĀNA

Of still more significance is the prevalence of the Tantrayāna in Java, Sumatra and Komboja, a fact now definitely established by modern researches into the character of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Śaivism in these parts of the Indian Orient. Already in a Komboja inscription of the ninth century A.D. there is definite evidence of the teaching of Tantric texts at the court of Jayavarman II (802-850). In a Komboja record of the 11th century there is a reference to the 'Tandras' and the 'Parāmas' and images of Hara-ra, definitely a Tantric divinity, have been recovered from amidst the ruins of Angkor Thom.³ A number of Komboja inscriptions refer to several kings who were initiated into the Great Secret, *Ekam Gahva* by their

¹ *École Française d'Extrême Orient* 11, p.

² Chatterji, *op. cit.* pp. 253 ff. also the same author's *India and Java* pp. 4-5.

³ A Hara-ra image has also been found in Sumatra.

Brahmanical *gurus* the Śaiva records make obvious references to Tantric doctrines that had crept into Śaivism.

But it was in Java and Sumatra that Tantrayāna seems to have attained greater importance. There Mahayāna Buddhism and the cult of Śiva both deeply imbued with Tantric influence are to be seen often blending with one another during this period. The *Sanghyang Kamahayānikan*—consisting of Sanskrit verses explained by an Old Javanese commentary—professes to teach the Mahāyāna and the Mantrayāna. Sir Charles Fleet thinks that it offers many parallels to Nepalese Tantric literature, which, as we know, consists of the teachings of the Buddhist monks of Magadha and Bengāla during the Pāla period. According to this treatise, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva are emanations of the Dhyaṇī-Buddha Vairocana. The *pañca maharājas* are also referred to in this strange work. Another Kawi text, which gives the story of Kuṃṇṇakara, extols Vairocana as being Śiva and Buddha in one.¹ Mr. Moens² quotes extracts from Prapañca's panegyric Kawi poem, the *Narakaśreṇīma*, which shows that Kṛtānagara, the ruler of Surasena, was definitely given up to Tantric practices. A statue of this king³ has been found in a cremation ground which is a certain proof of his profession of Tantric doctrines; in fact the *Narakaśreṇīma* states that Kṛtānagara had gone through the ten ceremonies of purification and the eight processes of initiation and that he carried out with scrupulous care the five *maharājas* free from all sin-ventures. The inscription engraved on the pedestal of his statue in the robes of a monk records that after his initiation on a cremation ground, he was supposed to be identified with Akṣobhya. The Tōtō inscription of the Sumatran Prince Adityavarman (c. 1141-1178 A.D.) dated in the Śaka years 1209 (c. 1147 and 1217—1251), also refers in unmistakable language to Tantric practices undergone by the prince and to the evident Tantric character of the Buddhism he seems to have professed.⁴ It is after Dr. Chatterjee's very able conclusion that this Tantrayāna with its peculiar blending of

¹ Chatterjee op. cit. pp. 205-207.

² J. F. Moens *Tijds. Krijgsm. Indië-ke Indië* (London: Ind. Arch. Ind. L.N.V., 1924).

³ For details see Moens, p. 1; also Chatterjee, *loc. cit.* and *Ind. Arch.* pp. 250-262; *India and Java*, pp. 34-35.



Sivaism with the Mahayana was introduced into Java, Sumatra and Kamboja from Eastern India—now comprised by the modern provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and perhaps also from Nepal and Tibet which were deeply influenced by Pala Bengal and Bihar.¹

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN BURMA: A PRIMA FACIE CASE

The above rapid survey of the documental background of the history of Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna in Further India and Indochina has its obvious significance for an understanding of the history of Buddhism in Burma during these centuries. We know that from 1057 A.D. Upper Burma—and within another couple of centuries, also Lower Burma—became definitely committed to Theravāda Buddhism, and even before that period the prevailing form of religion was the same Theravāda. But did Burma escape altogether this wave of the Mahāyāna and the Tantrayāna that swept the lands farther south and east and largely influenced the life and culture of the people of the times? Is there not, in Upper Burma, any trace of the Mahāyāna or any other later form of Buddhism that may have crept in before or after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism into Pagan by Anawrahta in 1057 A.D.? If traces there are, did the cult or cults become extinct after the glorious inauguration of the new religion received from the Taluung country? Is there any trace of tantric practices or Tantric texts in Burma? Geographically, Burma lies in the midway between Campa and Kamboja, both by land and sea, and she holds the same position, by sea, in relation to Java and Sumatra. It is not unlikely that ships sailing from the East Indian port of Tāmapūti for the islands and countries beyond the Bay—some of them at least—would touch the ports of Burma and ever make them their objective, and drop some of the missionaries along with traders and adventurers, as they certainly did in Java and Sumatra, Campa and Kamboja. With Upper Burma there was moreover the possibility of a land route through Assam and Manipur; in fact a live land route really existed as late as the eighteenth century along which the Manipuris and Burmese led their respective raids

¹ For a detailed account of the Buddhism of Barabudur in particular and Javan (etc.) etc., see Kr. in *Barabudur* II the last chapter on the "Buddham of Barabudur".

into Burma and Manipur.¹ M. Ferrand also recognises the existence of such a route which passed through the Upper Chindwin Valley in Upper Burma, till as late as the seventeenth century (c. 1663 A.D.)² The existence of a land route through Assam and Manipur is also attested to by Burmese chronicles which refer to certain immigrations from North India in a very early period. One of these immigrations is said to have been responsible for the foundation of the city and dynasty of Tagaung on the Irrawady³, and identified generally with Iugma of Ptolemy. A *prima facie* case lies, therefore, in favour of the possible introduction of Mahāyānist and Tantric influences at least in Upper Burma.

If, therefore, the above questions are answered in the affirmative, further questions will be asked. Which were the circumstances that led to the introduction of this and similar cults of Buddhism? What, again, was the relative position of the Theravāda and Mahāyāna in Burma, and what was the attitude of the people and the ruling authorities? And how finally did the Mahāyāna and allied cults influence the Theravāda, if they did at all?

PRESENT STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

Before an attempt is made to discuss any of these questions we have to take a short and rapid survey of the present state of our knowledge about the subject of our study.

Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions written in Northeast Indian Nāgarī characters discovered at the ruins of ancient Prome and belonging to about the sixth and seventh centuries have been known for about seven or eight years, and though it has been recognized that they owe their inspiration to a school of Buddhism other than the Theravāda, no attempt has yet been made to interpret their significance in the history of Buddhism in Burma. Later Sanskrit epigraphs, mostly on terracotta votive tablets in Nāgarī

¹ Compare, for example, the raids of the Manipuris on Thavung lot on the Chindwin river in 1647 and 1662, on Myedon-shwebo in 1735 and 1740, Burmese counter-raids on Manipur in 1755, 1758—'59, and even as late as 1813.

² *Rapports de Voyages et Textes géographiques relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, II, pp. 556, 57.

³ *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 1—4.

and proto-Bengali characters, and recovered from the ruins of Pagan have been correctly interpreted by M. Duroiselle to have belonged to the Mahāyāna tradition. The same scholar also proved clearly and unmistakably for the first time¹, that the well-known sect of the Aris of Upper Burma was a Mahāyānist Buddhist sect grossly addicted to Tantric practices: in this connection he also brought out the significance of some of the paintings on the walls of a group of temples of Pagan, notably those of the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamañña. He also suggested that this Tantric character of Buddhism may have been due to contemporary religious influences from Bengal.

Images of gods and goddesses discovered from time to time have also been identified as belonging to the Mahāyāna pantheon, but their significance has been little understood: some of them, and they constitute a good number, have only lately been recognized as Mahāyāna divinities². Some gods of the Mahāyāna pantheon have also been incorporated in the Hinayana mythology of Burma, but this curious fusion still remains unexplored.

The existence of a heterodox sect, the Sammakuttakas, was also known for a long time: the *Sāsana-gāma* refers to them as a strong and powerful sect that acquired a footing in Pagan at a very early period³. But no attempt has yet been made to find out who these Sammakuttakas were or what was the significance of the religious tenets and rites they held and practised.

In short, it has been generally recognized that Mahāyāna Buddhism and a baser sort of Mahāyānist Tantrism were known in Upper Burma, but our knowledge does not extend very far in that direction. Our knowledge of the circumstances that led to the introduction of these cults are vague and much too general: not has any idea been entertained as to the possibility of the prevalence of any other form of Sanskrit Buddhism. No attempt has also been made to evaluate the extent of influence which these different schools of Sanskrit Buddhism gained in Burma,

¹ Duroiselle, *The Arts of Burma and Tantric Buddhism* (in *As. Res.* 1, 1915-'16, pp. 79-83).

² See my article on 'The cult of Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna gods in Burma', in *Buddhist Studies* (Calcutta, 1931), 1.

³ *Sāsana-gāma*, P. I, 5, pp. 15-17.

of how they reacted on the minds of the people and their religion, the Theravāda. The problem has not also been approached from the Indian side and the Indian documents, mostly Tibetan, have not been thoroughly analysed so as to yield their fullest information.

Of course, this has been largely due to the Burmese denial of the existence of any other school of Buddhism other than the Theravāda. Indeed, the Burmese people and their mass of obihistorical literature do not seem to know of any other religion than what they profess to-day and have been doing so for centuries. This silence of authentic Burmese records as to the prevalence of the Mahāyāna or any other form of Buddhism before or after the Theravāda reformation of the eleventh century is apparently a serious difficulty for the historian to overcome. But, this is merely a sectarian endeavour, as M. Duroiselle rightly points out 'to make the nation forget that there had once existed at Pagan a Buddhist sect outside the pale of Sinhalese Buddhism'.¹

THE PROBLEMS STATED

The problems before us can now be stated as follows:

- 1 What is the earliest form of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, and where did it thrive?
- 2 What is the significance of Sanskrit inscriptions found in Pagan and other places in Upper Burma, and of Sanskrit texts referred to in inscriptions? Is there any evidence of the existence of Mahāyānist and Tantric texts in Burma? If so, what is their significance?
- 3 What is the conclusion to be derived from archaeological finds that can definitely be labelled as belonging to the Mahāyāna and other later schools of Sanskrit Buddhism?
- 4 Who were the Aris? Who were the Samanaskuttiris? And in what way are they related with the Mahāyāna or Mahāyānist Tantric cults of Buddhism?
- 5 What is the testimony of Indian documents regarding the introduction of the Mahāyāna and other allied cults into Burma, and what evident conclusions can be derived from them?

¹ Duroiselle, *op. cit.*



- 6 When and whence did these cults of Sanskrit Buddhism penetrate Burma? And, finally,
- 7 What was the relative position of the orthodox and heterodox schools of Buddhism in Burma? Did the latter influence the former in any way?

These problems will now be discussed one by one in the following chapters.

CHAPTER ONE

SARVĀSTIVĀDA IN ANCIENT PROME (1)

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM OLD PROME: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

In the course of excavations carried out at Kan-wet-khauug kon in Old Prome in 1927-'28, M. Duttasikha came upon a very interesting bilingual inscription incised on the three sides of the pedestal of a Buddha image seated in the *dhyana-mudrā* and *vajraparyanka* attitude. The record is composed in beautiful Sanskrit verse, but is interspersed with what Dr. Bhigden has recognized as Pyu renderings of the Sanskrit text: the script is later Gupta-Brāhmī of Eastern India of about the seventh century, and the image itself can stylistically be ascribed to the later Gupta tradition of art, belonging to exactly the same period as is suggested by the palaeography of the inscription.¹ The image seems to have been set up by King Jayasindhravarman at the instance of his religious teacher (*guru*) with the express purpose of establishing and enhancing peace, amity and good will between the king himself and his younger brother (*ajayama*) Hativikrama. Jayasindhra further it is stated in the record, built two cities (*paradrayam*) side by side, evidently one for each, and even in one day (*ekaika divase*).

The record is valuable in more than one respect. It supplies us with a definite starting point in the political history of ancient Prome, and yields important information regarding the history of

¹ This important record, the first of its kind in Burma, was recently unpublished, though a notice of the find appeared in the 38 *R.A.S.B.* as early as 1927 (38 pp. 226-245). For courtesy of Mr. K. N. Dasgupta, Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, and of Dr. C. O. Leysier, has enabled me to study the record, a summary of the results of which I am incorporating here. I take this opportunity of acknowledging with thanks the kindness of these two scholars.

Buddhist Lower Burma about the seventh century A.D. besides contributing substantially to the elucidation of the origin of the Pāli script. So far as the present study is concerned, the Pāli inscription allows us to arrive at some tentative conclusions: 1) there seems to have existed a certain rivalry between the two brotherly Jayasavarman and Harivarma, and the former was obliged to put in his debt by providing two cities, one for each, so as to promote peace and goodwill between the two brothers; 2) Jayasavarman and Harivarma both belonged to one and the same dynasty, not to two different families as has been put forth, supported by reason of their having two different name endings, 3) the towns to which these two brothers belonged adhered to Buddhism, and 4) what is most important, the Buddhism professed by Jayasavarman belonged to one of the Northern Schools whose records are supposed to have been written in Sanskrit.

The second important Sanskrit inscription recovered from the ruins of Hmawza is found on the pedestal of a headless Buddha image¹ and consists of the well-known Buddhist formula *ve dharmaṃ āraṇyaṭṭhaṃ*, etc., which used to be widely inscribed on terracotta tablets all over Burma in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli. The script of the record is the same as that of the Pāli inscription noted above, viz. it is North-Eastern Indian Brāhmī of about the seventh century. The style of the image agrees with that of the Buddha image from Kanwetkhatungkon; it represents the late Gupta tradition of Eastern India.

These two are not the only images belonging to this art tradition which were recovered from the ruins of Prome. In fact, these ruins have recently yielded a large number of stone sculptures and terracotta reliefs, mostly representing Buddhist subjects and belonging to an art tradition familiar in Magadha during the 6th-8th centuries. Nor are these epigraphic records the only ones found at Hmawza. This locality has produced a large number of terracotta stīve tablets inscribed with the Buddhist formula in late Gupta Brāhmī characters of about the 7th and 8th centuries. Some of them have evidently been brought to Burma by pious followers of the faith from such Indian centres of Buddhism as Sarnāth and

¹ *As. R. A. S. L.*, 1928-'29, p. 108, pl. 33b.

Bodhi-gayā others were certainly moulded and inscribed by local craftsmen for local requirements, as they bear on them Pyu words and legends as well.

The original home of these records and images is then North-Eastern India, i.e. the Magadha region. It will be remembered that this region in the seventh century was a stronghold of the Sarvāstivāda school, as is testified by I-tsing¹ and probably also by Hsün Tsiang when he speaks of the Mahāvastu of the Sthavira School in Magadha.² From this fact we infer that the

¹ Takakusu, *I-tsing's Records*, . . . pp. xxii, 8.

² Watters, *Yün-k'ang*, II, p. 136, note, comments on pp. 135-136, 141-42, 143 and 148.

It is uncertain what Hsün Tsiang's exact meaning of the Mahāvastu of the Sthavira school, which was a part of the tradition Hsün Tsiang himself received very early in his mission to the various schools, should be given, and it is not clear whether Mahāvastu here is a very general term, even the Buddhist literature, as he calls Mahāvastu Sthavira. He also says that the Mahāvastu was a Hinayana sutra, and although the Mahāvastu was with the Vinaya of the Theravāda, the restriction of the Hinayana was still in Northern Buddhist sects, with the Sarvāstivādas who, like the Theravādas, were recognized as a Hinayana sect and who, like them, the Vinaya of the Theravādas, but their records still a great many of the Mahāvastuists and the Sthavira school. Hsün Tsiang probably referred to these Buddhists of the North, who were recognized as Hinayana, and had thus the closest relation with the Sarvāstivādas. But we saw that the language in common with the Mahāvastuists was Sanskrit, the Sarvāstivādians.

My main reason for putting the Mahāvastu of the Sthavira school with the Sarvāstivādas is that Hsün Tsiang probably refers the Buddhist brethren of the Mahāvastu Vihāra, Mahāvastuists and the Sthavira school, and Watters in his note observes that at his time many of the brethren in the Magadha monasteries were evidently Mahāvastuists that were (II, p. 136). It is also significant that I-tsing, who comes over about 50 years later states that in Magadha . . . the Sarvāstivāda Mahāvastuists the most. Takakusu, p. vii, p. 8. It is emphasized by the parallel statements of the two pilgrims with regard to Kāśyapa, a monk of the Mahāvastuists, the brethren of the monasteries of Kāśyapa, Kāśyapa were the Mahāvastuist Sthavira school (Watters, p. 136, p. 137). According to I-tsing, the Mahāvastivāda Mahāvastu was maintained in Kāśyapa, and I-tsing himself being a Sarvāstivāda, could not have been mistaken on this point.

Buddhism represented by the inscribed images of Prome was that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda.

One may at once ask why not of the Mahāyānists? There is nothing definitely to relate such a question, but considering the very paucity of finds definitely Mahāyānist recovered from Old Prame and from the very powerful influence that Hīnayāna exercised there from about two centuries earlier, it seems unlikely that the Mahāyāna had any such popularity at so early a date as to warrant our assuming the existence of a Mahāyānist family of kings and the fact of a number of Sanskrit inscriptions including the Linga found from Kānwerkhaurigāon.

The recent attempt for inscribing this Sanskrit Buddhistism at Old Prame into the Sarvāstivāda is the mistake. The second point not to be overlooked is the tradition of the images which bear these records and record the history from where this Buddhism seems to have originated to continue. The Pāli examples found at the old capital of Prame are all written in what is called the Kharoṣṭhi script or Kharoṣṭhi script and are undoubtedly records of the early Buddhism with the Sanskrit script, or more exactly, not Northern or Eastern script — in the Gupta period or early Naga of Gupta. We know that the Theravāda and the Sarvāstivāda differ but little in principle and almost nothing in practice, both of them being to the teacher Hīnayāna and follow the same Buddha. It is therefore only likely that the Buddhism represented by these Sanskrit documents of ancient Prame can be the Sarvāstivāda. We only regard it as a probable explanation of the use of Sanskrit in early Buddhist, presumably Hīnayānist records. This I think cannot be explained by the fact of the presence of Brahmins and Buddhistical Hinduism at the capital of the old kingdom of Prame¹ or even by stray finds of Mahāyāna images there, none of which can be dated on account of the style, before the eighth or ninth century.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TUNG'S EVIDENCE

This assumption of the existence of Sarvāstivāda in ancient Prame during the seventh and eighth centuries seem to find striking

¹ See my *Brāhmanī at Gāndhī*.

Calcutta University, 1932.

support from what I have stated about the relative position of the different schools of Buddhism in his time in the islands of the Southern Sea.

This celebrated Chinese traveller sojourned in India and the Eastern Archipelago in the last quarter of the seventh century (671-75) — the same period to which the Badliast Sanskrit inscription and its geographical, topographical and stylistically be assigned. It is not probable that the pilgrim did not visit any of the regions situated along the sea coast of Burma or at some distance in the interior. But he certainly took pains to learn about the state of the religion in all these countries, viz., to the east and south of the Bay.¹ That he succeeded to a great extent is proved by the following passage in his *Nan hai shi chih nien fa chieh* (ch. I, f. 3 verso):

[illegible]

Of the countries mentioned in the above passage, *Ling-chi* has been identified with *Champa*. *Shi-tu-po-to*, with *Thien-tsu* or *new Ayutthya* in *Siam*. *Shih-lieh-ku-tu* with *Sakastan* or *Badkhan*, the capital now being represented by the ruins of *Hinuw*, and *Chang-kuo-shu* with the kingdom of *Chia-ming* (see *Chia-ming* of *Huen Tsiang*).¹ The identifications of *Ling-chi*, *Shi-tu-po-to* are mentioned by *Huen Tsiang* as *Tu-lo-po-to* and *Shih-lieh-ku-tu* have also been mentioned by *Huen Tsiang* as situated to the northeast

• Takakura, p. 61 p. 6-11

* *Thavannan, Religione Eminentia*, p. 38.

* For these identical references see Takakura p. 7, pp. 9-10 Hayne Hunt,
of Burma p. 92. Heat Buddha's head; the other two Head II p. 700
n. 44 Chavannes p. 187 and above all Léon Deek Histoires in
H E F O 1894.



of Samatata, by the side of a great sea in a valley of mountains. This orientation of Śrīkṣetra is evidently wrong, for it lies far to the south-east, not to the north-east of Samatata.¹

IDENTIFICATION OF LANG-CHIA-SHU

The identification of the one remaining name, Lang-chia-shu (or Lankasu), has long puzzled scholars. It is generally assumed that I-tsing's Lang-chia-shu is the same as Hsuen T'sang's Chia-mo-lang-chia or Kamalanka, because Lang-chia-shu is placed by I-tsing exactly in the same relation to Śrīkṣetra and Dvāravatī as Chia-mo-lang-chia is placed by Hsuen T'sang in relation to the same kingdoms.² We may therefore assume that they are one and the same country, not yet there be any objection to their being identified as Messer Playfere and Beal do,³ with Pegu and the deltaic region of the Irrawady. But as Lang-chia-shu has been identified with a considerable number of similar names found in Chinese and other sources, there exists the possibility of the kingdom being identified with other regions of Farther India. It has been pointed out that Lang-chia or Lang-chia-shu is mentioned several times by I-tsing as a port visited by Chinese pilgrims (whose lives he records) on their way to India.⁴

It seems clear that I-tsing's Lang-chia-shu 'was on the west coast of the Peninsula, on the route somewhere between Annam and Java, and if so, how can it be both south-east of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvāravatī which is placed in the basin of the Menam? I-tsing, when he sent his *Lives of the Pilgrims* back to China, had lived about eight years in the seas of the South, mostly at Palembang. Could he have made any mistake about the position of Lang-chia-shu? Or did he know, without troubling to distinguish them, two kingdoms of the name of Lang-chia-shu, the one somewhere in Tennasserim, the other on the east side of the Penin-

¹ *Proc. J. B. R. S.* XIV, II, p. 161.

² 'Thence north-east, i.e., from Samatata, beside the great sea in a valley of hills in the kingdom of Shih-ch'a-tan, thence to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of Chia-mo-lang, thence in the east, to the kingdom of To-lo-ge-ti.' This is from Hsuen T'sang's *Records*, compare it with that of I-tsing quoted above.

³ *op. cit.*

⁴ One such passage may be found in Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

sula south of the isthmus of Kra? Or is I tsing here merely echoing Hsien Tsiang but substituting for Kamalanka (a name unknown to him), one that was familiar—Lang-chia-shu—without much regard for geographical accuracy"?¹

Meanwhile Lang-chia-shu has been taken to be identical with the kingdom of Lang-ya or Lang-ya-hsu which is referred to in the *T'ang shu* (ch. 54, f. 3, verso) and also with that of Lang-ya-hsu mentioned in connection with Ch'ing Chao's embassy to Ch'it'u kingdom in 607-08 A.D. (*Pei shih*, ch. 13, f. 3, recto; *Sui shu*, chap. 82, f. 1, verso).² Without going into the details of these texts which have been ably discussed by Drs. Chavannes, Schlegel, Pelliot and Mr. Luce,³ it may be said that the position of these kingdoms—as described in the Chinese texts—seems to be quite in accordance with that of I tsing's Lang-chia-shu, i.e. they are situated somewhere on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to the south of the isthmus of Kra.

Furthermore, Lang-chia-shu has also been identified with Lang-yu ssu-chia mentioned by Chao ju kua (1228).⁴ It is one of the fifteen dependencies of Sulu-chia (Sulawesi = Sumatra = Palembang) which again M. Cordier thinks⁵ is the same as (a) Lang-sa-gam of Tanjore (and inscription of Rājaputrah (1012-1042) and (b) the Lankasuka—a dependency of Mayapahit—mentioned in the Kawi poem *Nagarakretagama* (14th century). M. Pelliot conjectures that Lang-chia-shu = Lang-ya-hsu = Lang-ya-hsu = Lang-yu ssu (-chia) = Lankasuka was one and the same kingdom⁶ which he identified with Ienissirim. M. Ferrand agrees with him but further identifies it with Lang-sa-gam, the Lue of Marco Polo⁷ (end of the 13th century), and finally with Lang-sakā of of an Arabic manuscript of the 16th century, situated on the east

¹ Luce, *J B R S.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 162—'63.

² Luce, *ibid.*, pp. 164—'63.

³ Pelliot, *op. cit.*, *B E F F O.* 1903 and 1904; Chavannes, *op. cit.*, *Sci. asiat.* *T'oung Pao*, IX, p. 193; Luce, *op. cit.*

⁴ Chao ju kua, ed. by Hirth and Rockhill. This kingdom is also referred to as Lang-ya ssu.

⁵ Cordier, *B E F F O.* 1918, no. 6.

⁶ *B E F F O.* 1904, pp. 405—407.

⁷ Yule and Cordier's edn. II, p. 276.

of the Malay Peninsula.¹ He therefore fixes the position of the kingdom on the isthmus of Ilang. But comes while finding in Lang-chi-shu of I-tsing Lang-yi-lan of the *I-tsing shu* and the Lang-yi-lan of the *Sac-yin-shu* and the same place sees in the Hsin-shan of K'uei-ch'ang's inscription the Lang-yi-shu-ling of Ch'iu-an-kuo and the T'eng-suka of the *Vijaya-kirtigama* quite a different place.² He identifies the former with Tennasserim just as M. Pelliot does, and the latter with Gunung Jerai or Ketih Peak, in the south of the Kedah State.

We have surveyed the various identifications proposed of I-tsing's Lang-chi-shu. None of them is free from objections. M. Pelliot was obviously influenced by the fact that I-tsing located the kingdom east of Srikssetra and west of Dvaravati, a circumstance which cannot be gained. M. Ferrard's arguments for placing the kingdom of I-tsing exactly coinciding his identity with a locality near the statement that it was situated south-east of Srikssetra and west of Dvaravati, nor the fact which I-tsing everywhere seems to indicate, according to some, that it was on the opposite coast of the I-tsing, somewhere on the route between Amarapura and Java. His final identification of M. Pelliot with M. Pelliot's concern in the statement of I-tsing, that it was a large city, but the discrepancy he makes between the two sets of names—open to objections which have rightly been pointed out by Mr. Luce.³

For the present, I can either be persuaded to agree with M. Pelliot and identify I-tsing's Lang-chi-shu with at least that portion of the present Tennasserim division which extends from Tavoy to Tennasserim proper, or the region watered by the Tennasserim river which is really to the south-east of Srikssetra and west of Dvaravati. Personally, I feel inclined to assume that Lang-chi-shu was practically identical with the entire Tennasserim division of today extending from Thabon to Tennasserim. The position, then, of the various kingdoms bordering the Southern Sea may be stated briefly as follows: first, Shih-ch'ia-t'uo or Srikssetra,

¹ *J. A.*, July-Aug., 1910, pp. 134—'45, 153—'54.

² A translation of the *Kedah Annals* in the *J. Ind. Arch.* 111 p. 11—13.

³ *J. B. N. S.* XIV, n. pp. 168—69.

second, Lang-chai-shu or Chia-no-lang-chia or Kami-aka to the south-west of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dyāvavati; third, Sar-be-poti or Lok-poti, on Dyāvavati; fourth, Pan-pan to the south of Dyāvavati and south-west of Chia-ka-ai-po, in a corner of the sea; fifth, Chen-la or Old Fou-nou, Kanchoye, to the east-south-east of Pan-pan, and lastly, Fun-i to the extreme east extending as far as the coast.

As for other references by Chuang¹ to Lang-chai-shu, I think they can be reconciled in the following way: the boat first entered the Chinese. But their pilgrims kept generally to the coast line till they passed Fou-nou or Chen-la, as it was there coasted, where they did no longer follow the coast line, but they met by the current, crossed the Gulf of Siam almost directly to, they came to anchor somewhere at the head of the Gulf on the east coast of the Peninsula, whence they crossed over to Hainan, Hainan and thence via Nidokot to Fou-nou. Fou-nou, it is well known, is a name that the kingdom of Lang-chai-shu extended to the coast of the Peninsula.

We are now in a position to give further details. I think details as to the state of Buddhism in the countries in question of the various countries in Fothergill's paper and I believe in his time, one viz. Śrīkṣetra is certainly mentioned by Chuang and the other Lang-chai-shu too, we have certainly included with a region included in the same territory. According to Chuang, the residents of both these countries, pilgrims received the Three Gems and held firmly to the precepts, especially the begging *śūdrā* that constituted a constant feature of their practice. In one of the countries, namely Lang-chai-shu, Buddhist precepts from China used to be received in three days with persons could be evident from the following passage where we get to see the authority of Chavannes:

Lang-chai-shu can and I believe once there is a ship from the We-lai, a small sea-port west of Fakto, is a small island, a great chant ship. They passed Fou-nou and landed at the south of Lang-chai-shu and were treated by the king of the country with ceremony that is usually accorded to such persons. (Chavannes, *ibid.*)

¹ Chavannes, *op. cit.* pp. 55-58, 100.

² Chavannes, *op. cit.* p. 57.

Ta lin, another Chinese pilgrim, whom we have had occasion to mention, also visited the same kingdom: he too was welcomed by the king of the country with the greatest courtesy, and was treated with utmost care and respect.¹

It now remains to be considered to which school this Buddhism of Śūketra and Ling-chin-shi really belonged. On this point Hsueh-huisei, I think, gives us a very illuminating and almost a definite lead. He speaks of the four nikāyas or schools of Buddhism in his time: the Mahāsaṃghika nikāya, the Sthavira nikāya, the Saṃmattī nikāya, and the Mahāvastivāda nikāya. 'But the number of adherents in each school is unequal in different places.' As to the distribution of the different schools, he states:

In Malacca the adherents of the four nikāyas are generally in practice. At the Siam and Indragiri countries, however, in India and Siam, the Mahāsaṃghika and Western nikāya, the Saṃmattī nikāya has the greater number of adherents. There are some few members of the other three schools. In the Northern Borneo according to the Saṃmattī nikāya, though we sometimes meet with the followers of the Mahāsaṃghika nikāya. In Java the Saṃmattī nikāya, the Sthavira nikāya, though there exist a few adherents of the other four nikāyas. In the Eastern Borneo countries, the four nikāyas are found only in Java. In the Sumatra island belonging to the Ārya-stavira nikāya, and the Ārya Mahāsaṃghika nikāya is reported. In the island of the Southern Sea, according to more than ten countries, the Mahāvastivāda nikāya has been generally accepted, though occasionally some have devoted themselves to the Saṃmattī nikāya, and recently a few followers of the other two schools have also been found. Coming from the west, there is first of all Pācābhichā, a place northwest of Sumatra, and then Mācācācā, probably Jambū north of Palembang, which is now the kingdom of Si-hai, still Sūbhaya. Mācācācā is Hsing-chin in Java. Ta-ta-chia, probably Tan-tan, Tāp-tā-chia, perhaps modern Pontianak on the southern coast of Borneo. Pō-h-chou, Bāh

¹ *Ibid.* p. 130.

² Belli's findings in the Mahāsaripa kingdom of the *Ta-ping-kuan* vi-chi. In one of the inscriptions, says M. Jellod, of the Javanese King Jayabaya, there is mention of a war led by this prince against the king of Malacca. *B. E. F. E. O.* 1904, pp. 425-426. Mr. Lasakas sought to identify it with Būdhermasari in South Borneo. *Records*, p. xviii. Mr. Winstedt following Mr. Kouffner identified it with Singapur of the 15th and Johor of the 17th century. *St. B.* 42. See *Journal*, no. 86, Nov. 1922, p. 258. For M. Ferrand's views, see *J. A.* 1912, pp. 228-229.

Ka-pian-hua¹ (Kashyapa-khaya²), A-sha-chou³ (Aśoka) and Mo-chia⁴ (Moksha). There are some more words which might all be mentioned here. In fact, we can find in all these countries and mostly in the Hinayana is adopted, except in Malacca where there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna.⁵

THE BUDDHISM OF SHIH-CHIA-TA-LO AND LANG-CHIA-SHI

We have seen above that I-tsing speaks of the definite existence of Buddhism in Shih-chia-ta-lo, Lang-chia-shi, She-be-po-ti and Lin-tai, but he does not say to which particular nikaya this Buddhism belonged, though he asserts that they all subscribed to the Hinayana. Now we know that all the three nikayas, the Ārya Sthavira nikaya, the Ārya Sammiti nikaya and the Ārya Mūlasarvāstivāda nikaya, are comprised within the Hinayana. To which of these nikayas, then, of the Hinayana, must we ascribe the Buddhism of Shih-chia-ta-lo and Lang-chia-shi? We have only one possible answer to this question. I think it belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda nikaya. Of the three nikayas, the Sthaviravāda is ruled out as it was practised only in Ceylon and to some extent in the south of India. The Sammiti nikaya is also similarly ruled out because it had its largest number of followers in the Lātya and Sindhu countries, though in the islands of the Southern Sea (e.g., in Campa) occasionally there were a handful of followers of this school. In all other regions of the Buddhist world excepting the Divine Land or Red province (i.e., China), it was the Mūlasarvāstivāda nikaya that was *universally* practised. It is thus only in the logic of facts, considering the wide prevalence of the Sarvāstivāda

¹ According to M. Ferrandi, it stands for Galien or Gaiou, mentioned as a toponym in the *Nāgavastuśāstra*; perhaps it is the island of Galien or Gaiou, to the south-east of the island of Ceram. Ferrandi / *J. Ind. Stud.* pp. 30-32.

² Mr. Takakusu and M. Ferrandi sought to identify it with an island in north-east of Java, but the latter points out that if Mr. I-tsing is not observing his arrangement, from west to east.

³ The *Nāgavastuśāstra* mentions a Markkianan which Dr. Krom places to the south of Pavuvuan. Ferrandi / *J. Ind. Stud.* p. 32.

⁴ Takakusu op. cit. pp. 8-10, also see Lee / *J. H. S. XIV*, 1911, pp. 202-203, the rendering in both are almost the same but Mr. Lee gives a better identification of place-names.

in I-tsing's time¹ that the Buddhism of Shih-li-ch'a-talo and Lang-chia-shu cannot be other than the Sarvāstivāda itself. This almost obvious conclusion is vested with a significance when we bear in mind I-tsing's important statement that 'in the islands of the Southern Sea (which included Borneo, Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula) the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya has been universally accepted.'

With regard to Sāh-jeh-a-ta-lo, there is moreover the evidence of the inscriptions. I-tsing tells us that the Buddhism of these countries was the Hīnayāna. We have two sets of Buddhist epigraphic records from the ancient city of Prome — I-tsing's Shih-li-ch'a-talo, one is in Pali written in Kadamba or Kanada Telegu characters and belonging to a period not later than the sixth century, the other in Sanskrit written in later Gupta-Brahmi characters of about the seventh century. We know that the Pali records are ascribed to the Theravāda and to what other school of the Hīnayāna the Sanskrit records may possibly belong than to the Sarvāstivāda?

The Sarvāstivāda of Lower Burma, if it has been suggested above, came from the Magadhi region of North Eastern India which in the seventh century was then one of the strongest centres of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya.

¹ In I-tsing's time the Sarvāstivāda school flourished in the North India and in Madagadga. Contrary to my mistaken view, as I had also very few were in the East and West — it was more abundant in Ceylon and had very few adherents in South India. Neither school, however, was as numerous as the Theravāda, so weak as the Sarvāstivāda, either before or after the seventh century. It is hard to estimate its relative strength. I-tsing's text, written in Sanskrit, is a mixture of other schools. Takakura, *J. A. I. S.*, 1922, p. 420; also, *Records*, p. xxii.

CHAPTER TWO

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS—SANSKRIT BUDDHIST TEXTS

I

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM UPPER BURMA—THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Every year archaeological excavation in Pagan and at other ancient sites of Upper Burma brings to light a number of stone sculptures and terracotta votive tablets with or without figures of the Buddha and attendants, so that there is now an enormous number of them in the collection of the Archaeological Survey of Burma. These objects invariably are inscribed with a short legend which in nearly every case is the well-known Buddhist formula, *ye dharma hetuprabhava*—written in neat, traced Nagari, and sometimes in proto-Bengali characters of the 9th–13th centuries. Evidently the great majority of these inscribed tablets were brought from the East Indian countries of Bihar and Bengal to Pagan and other important centres of Burma, but some of them were moulded locally, for they bear the name of local and other personages of Pagan. The language is mostly Sanskrit, sometimes the legends are in Pali or mixed Sanskrit and Pali, but here we are mainly concerned with those in Sanskrit. Among those moulded locally and bearing local names we have a considerable number, containing the name of the great Pagan king Mahārāja Śī Anuruddhadeva (i.e. King Anawraṭṭa). But these tablets are not at the same time inscribed with the Buddhist creed. To quote a few examples:

1. *Saṃcāradānāpati Mahārāja Śrī Anuruddhadeva kato a am*
2. *Saddharmayam saṃcāradānat Mahārāja Śrī Anuruddhadeva*
3. *Eva bhagavā Mahārāja Śrī Anuruddhadeva kato viraṭṭa haṃ sahaṭṭheṇeva ti.*

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4 *Māyā-mūlādāte-ena-kṛm Sugata-sam-cakam tena Maitreya
santodde-labhe an-m-ṛṭṭi-padam*¹

Similar legends, but associated with the names of other persons are inscribed on native tablets which have also been found among the ruins of Pagan and other centres in Upper Burma. The following is an example:

*Māyā-Sū-Ku-dra-d-ena-kṛm Sugata-sam-cakam
tena Maitreyam-antodde-labhe-labhevan an-ṛṭṭan-padam*²

It will at once be seen that these legends are written in mixed Sanskrit and Pāli. But quite a large number of them are in pure Sanskrit though they contain nothing besides the Buddhist formula. But whatever may be the language, the script is always the same: it is monacaval Nāgarī and proto-Bengalī of the period which we have suggested.

This can lead to one conclusion alone, and it is this: some sort of Buddhism of the northern variety with Sanskrit as vehicle of expression must have been in existence *already before* and *even after* the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism from Thāton by Anawrahta in 1057 from which time Sanskrit was gradually superseded by Pāli³. It has long been recognized that Sanskrit was known in Pagan as the language of Brāhmanical Hinduism and of Brāhman court-astrologers and priests. In fact, Brāhmanical and Sanskritic elements are abundantly clear in the Mon inscriptions of Burma. But the use of the same language in what are definitely Buddhist objects of worship cannot but lead to the conclusion just arrived at⁴ and the use of the Eastern Nāgarī and proto-Bengalī character forms support to the assumption. These scripts were the only varieties used during the 9th–13th centuries in the modern provinces

¹ *Id.* *R.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 16. ² *Id.* *R.A.S.B.*, 1916, 27 p. 13. ³ Native tablets with one or other of these and similar legends bearing the name of Anandādāya have been found in temples and stupas built by Anawrahta himself.

⁴ *Ann. R.A.S.B.*, 1916, p. 39.

⁵ This is probably reflected in the half-Pāli half-Sanskrit language of the inscriptions.

⁶ It can easily be proved that Sanskrit works, Mahāyānist and probably also Sanskrit Hīnayānist and Brāhmanical works were in use at Pagan before Anawrahta. — *Burmese*, 2 p. *Etym.* 11 p. 7. No proof however is given though the fact is now recognized by all.

of Bengal and Bihar whence most of the tablets must have been brought to Burma¹ even if it is that were moulded locally slavishly imitated India models from Srivijaya, Bodhi-gaya, Nalanda and other centres as far east as Tapo-rah in Eastern Bengal. These two countries, particularly the ancient Magadhan country, were in Linsang's time "as we have seen stronger bits of the Sarcostylis club" but already from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards came to be dominated almost wholly by the Mahayana. Such parallel transition in the history of Buddhism we have also noticed in Further India and Indonesia.² It is therefore probable that the Sanskrit Buddhism of Pagan as evidenced in the writings of the votive tablets belonged to the Mahayana. This conclusion is confirmed by the writings of Tibetan scholars, notably Taranātha, to which we shall have occasion to revert.

Sanskrit Buddhism seems to have had a foothold in Pagan for at least two centuries — some of these tablets can palaeographically be dated about the ninth century — when the Theravāda came to measure strength with it. We shall see that this conclusion drawn from a study of the inscriptions is corroborated not only by Burmese historical tradition as recorded in the chronicles, but also by literary and archaeological evidence.

II

SANSKRIT TEXTS OF MAHAYANA AND TANTRAYANA

It has been long recognized that Sanskrit texts, mostly Buddh-

¹ Some of these tablets are often as late as the 12th and 13th century but the older ones though written in the same Nagari script (Sanskrit characters) are mostly in Pali showing credit to the comparative absence of the Theravāda by the time of writing the great religious epics after the conquest of India. With regard to the importance of the tablets bearing evidence in Sanskrit, M. Danavongkhasi, "The problem of active intercourse between Burma and Northern India", They corroborate the tradition, leaving no doubt in our minds that "single Buddhist teaching prevailed Theravāda Buddhism and it existed in Pagan before Mahāyāna, that is, that it was not yet fully won by the majority of the people who professed Mahāyānaism and which is also very probable a form of Hinayānaism the scriptures of which are written in Sanskrit". *As. R A S B*, 1913, p. 47.

² See *supra* chap. I.

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manuscript were known in Burma. These texts related to such secular subjects as astrology, astronomy, medicine, rhetoric, poetics, law, political and military science, etc. They also included works on land measurement, fortifications and Karmasastras. That a store of Sanskrit learning existed from very early times is clearly attested by Buddhist monastic priests, court astrologers and counsellors and ministers of the realm residing at the court of the Burmese kings was first pointed out by that pioneer scholar of Burmese antiquities, Mr. Furchhammer.¹ He wrote as early as 1880: "There exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma written on paper like India with Nagari and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu emigrants who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country. Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made."²

FRAHMANISM AND SANSKRIT LEARNING

Already in the eighties of the last century, Mr. Furchhammer collected a number of inscriptions from Pagan, Pinya and Ava³, including one dated B.E. 804 = 1442 A.D. which commemorates the bestowal of a monastery with eighteen paddy lands, slaves and what is most important, a large collection of texts (numbering 295) upon the Buddhist Order by the governor of Taungtha and his wife.⁴ The catalogue of books which is given in the inscription is extremely interesting as it shows in which subjects the monks were most interested and what was the general trend of their studies. As the list has been reproduced more than once⁵, we need not quote

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, IV, 1 (recollected by Furchhammer, p. 1) and Furchhammer, *Report of Excavations*, II, 24, 1880, 80, pp. 4, 11.

² Furchhammer *ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava* Deciphered from the original MSS. and found among Furchhammer's papers, Rangoon, 1902.

⁴ Such gifts of books are mentioned so many an inscription in Burma, but the most interesting thing of these inscriptions is that here we have one solitary example where a complete list of books is catalogued.

⁵ E.g. 1880, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, pp. 102 ff. (recollected by Furchhammer in *B.I.F.I.O.*, 1904, V, p. 188; Ray, *History of Buddhism in Burma* (ready for the press), chap. III.

it and so. We notice here, I in Mabel Beale remark, "a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes already discarded in the Pāṇinian transcription, but still recognizable. These will add as to the some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Pāṇini of the fifth century. We are not disposed to believe that such monastery contained students of Sanskrit, but we have at least some grounds for supposing that certain famous works on grammar, poetry, medicine, and so forth were transmitted in Upper Burma."¹

The inscription proves that even Burmese monks were interested in essentially Brahmanical texts on secular subjects, which is as clear that they did study these texts along with their own sacred writings, as is proved not only by a considerable number of Pāṇinian transcriptions of several Sanskrit works but also by the honorific epithet *Vedasatthakanda* ('expert in Vedasatthas'), which was at times conferred on certain monks. The *Sasana-sama*² repeatedly refers to monks who were experts in *Vedasatthas*, which, however, had nothing to do with Vedic texts or even with Brahmanical religious literature. The term *Vedasattha* was used by Burmese monks to designate texts on astronomy, astrology, law, policy, trees, etc., lexicography, grammar, rhetoric, etc.³ We do not know what contemporary opinion thought of these *Vedasatthakanda*, but subsequently orthodox opinion, as represented by Pāṇinians and the author of the *Sasana-sama*, did not hold them in respect, at least a certain section of the monastic order did not favour this Brahmanical learning. In fact, if the *Sasana-sama* is to be believed, the Order frankly disapproved of them. According to Pāṇinians, these *Vedasatthakanda* were deficient in the knowledge and position of the teachers, *pariyatthapattipattana-manda*, and the important characters did not consider them worthy of being reckoned in the *therapā-rampara*, *therapārampara-a-nā-gaṇanti-p-rana*.⁴

There is a point which is still more important in this category and which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. The list contains at least four works that can be traced to Mahāyāna Sanskrit

¹ Beale—p. 11.

² pp. 105, 106, 109.

³ Jarlin—op. cit. later, by F. Schamner, p. 17; F. Schamner, p. 10, 31.

⁴ If Beale—op. cit. pp. 30–31.

⁵ *Sasana-sama*—p. 105.

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texts—at least three, if not five—works that are definitely Tantric. They are the following:

- (a.) 277. *Nyāya-bindu*
 278. *Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā*
 279. *Hetu-bindu*
 280. *Hetu-bindu-ṭīkā*
 (b.) 269. *Mṛtyuśāñcana*
 270. *Mahākūlacakha*¹
 271. *Mahākūlacakha-ṭīkā*²

Presumably there are two more texts in the list which are Tantric, though we cannot at present trace them to their Indian originals. They are:

104. *Kaṇṇana*³ (copied in 100–204)
 105. *Ratnamālā-ṭīkā*⁴

TEXTS ON BUDDHIST LOGIC

The *Nyāyabindu* and *Hetubindu* as well as the commentaries belonging to these two works are certainly treatises on Buddhist logic. The *Nyāyabindu* is the famous treatise on the subject by Ariyaratnamakirti (c. 750–800), a resident of South India in the kingdom of Chola-land, probably Chola or Coimbatore, and a disciple of Ariyaratnamakirti. There are at least two commentaries on the *Nyāyabindu* called *Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā*, one by Viśatideva (c. 675–⁵ of Nalanda) and another by Ariyaratnamakirti of Kashmir (c. 850).⁶ The Sanskrit original of Viśatideva's work is lost, but a Tibetan translation of it exists in the Langyur. M. L. Shue-fu-chi (1934). The translation was due to the collaboration of the Indian scholar Jñānāśrī and his Tibetan colleague Vandeysessay. The original of Ariyaratnamakirti's work was preserved in the Pura temple of Satriathar, Cambodia. It is difficult to decide which of these two texts—the one mentioned in the list, the *Hetubindu-ṭīkā*⁷ is a

¹ It is interesting that these two texts are known in their Tibetan form whereas *Mṛtyuśāñcana* is in correct Sanskrit form.

² For Dharmakīrti and his works see, for example, S. C. Vasubandhu, *Indian Logic: Medicine in Sāṃkhya*, pp. 103–108.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

38 SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS SANSKRIT BUDDHIST TEXTS

Lantric so are Mahākālikā texts. The relation between Buddhist and Khyenka (ritual) will be evident from the following passage in the *Laghukālacakratantarāṅga-ṭīkā*:

*Lasmaḍ idanm ratnatrayasaramam gat e kalacakra tantra rite
lankakalikāra idthe sadhana many darsakathyesmam kormah*

Sakacasadnam samyaksambodhahat e dhava thar a jñamanti

These Lantric texts must have been prevalent among certain sections of the Buddhists of Upper Burma and when we remember that the inscription refers to conditions in the fifteenth century when Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma had been on the ascendant for four centuries, the existence of Mahāyāna and Lantric texts in a monastic library seems at least to show that at one time these cults must have gained some popularity in the country.

The reference to Khyenka texts is endowed with a better signifi-
cance when we find Tsanāthar, the celebrated Tibetan monk
scholar recording as follows:

Although in the countries of the Koki realm, in which the
kingdoms of Pagan and Pegu are included, Vinaya, Abhid-
harma and Mahāyāna works are very well known, the secret
mantras had become very rare, with the exception of *Kālacakra*,
the three *maṇḍala* sūtras and a few others.

The Tsanāthar inscription and Tsanāthar's statement to which scholarly

translated it by Rose, 2. *It has been observed in the m. k. s. that the c. 17th cen-
tury and c. 18th century m. k. s. are translated in Chinese. 1. It has been
observed in the c. 17th century m. k. s. that the c. 17th century m. k. s. are
translated in Chinese. 2. It has been observed in the c. 17th century m. k. s. that
the c. 17th century m. k. s. are translated in Chinese. 3. It has been observed in the
c. 17th century m. k. s. that the c. 17th century m. k. s. are translated in Chinese.*

The two Ratanamalā (Kālacakra) texts cannot also be definitely identified
though the correspondence referred to above corresponds with Lantric texts as
Ratnamālā-mūlā (6. 4. 4) and *Ratnamālā-gāthā* (cf. nos. 2010
and 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018).

But I have some doubts as to the identity of the two titles as we find
them in the inscription to be *Ratnamālā* and *Ratnamālā-ṭīkā* and not
Ratnamālā and *Ratnamālā-ṭīkā*. Lantric (Tantric) texts are well known
and in the correspondence referred to above we have mention of several
Ratnamālā texts (cf. nos. 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018).

scepticism attaches little value is now confirmed by the actual existence of Mahayana and Kramakra texts in Burma.⁴

⁴ Taranatha's later account of Buddhism in Burma will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

GODS AND GODDESSES OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM

We now come to more definite evidence of Mahāyāna Buddhism and allied cults in Burma. They are afforded by a considerable number of images in stone and bronze, repared from the ruins mainly of Hriywar and Pagan as well as by numerous paintings on the walls of the temples of Pagan depicting what can be identified as Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna-Esoteric divinities. The number of such finds, it is true, is not as large as it is in Java or Kamboja or many other Indianised countries of South-East Asia, nor are the finds so representative of the pantheon. In fact, so far as can be determined at present, we meet with Avalokitesvara, Mañjuśrī, Tārā, Mañjuśrī, Lokmeṭhā who is but another form of Avalokitesvara, Hṛṣṭīśvara, Vajrasattva, and one or two other minor deities, for example, Jambhasthī, and a small group of Esoteric gods and goddesses, many recognised by their significant attitudes or postures. Among these Lokmeṭhā seems to have been a very popular deity, a fact which we can see in Kamboja with Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī closely following. The images are mostly stone and a few of them had probably been imported. But on most of them the local stamp is evident. As to the paintings on the walls of temples, their testimony leaves no doubt; they are the one positive proof of the existence in the heart of the Burmese capital of a considerable number of Buddhists following the Mahāyāna and its allied cults. Even the imported images are significant, for there would have been no necessity for their importation if no one wanted them. What is interesting in this connection is that a very large number of these sculptures, and almost the whole group of paintings may stylistically be dated after the introduction of the Theravāda by Anawraṭh in 1057 A. D., consequently the Mahāyāna and its allied cults were important factors in the religious life of Pagan even after

the great Theravāda revival which the local chronicles extol. Burmese chronicles and inscriptions, it is true, ignore its existence; only in a few instances do they allude to the existence of a heterodox sect as a disturbing element in the reign—*is* life of the people.

AVALOKITEŚVARA

Simple images of Avalokiteśvara are very rare in Burma; in fact only about half a dozen definitely identifiable have been brought to light. One is preserved in the Yawda Museum, Pagan, and another has been recovered from the ruins of Hinawza. The former is a small bronze image standing in a slight *tribhanga* pose with the right hand in *varada mudrā* and the left holding a lotus stalk. In front of the crown we notice the seated figure of Amida, with his hands resting on his lap.¹ The second example, also from Hinawza, is a well-executed bronze, which on account of its style may be ascribed to the 7th or 8th century A.D. The god is shown standing in the *tribhanga* pose, of his feet, again the two on the right are completely gone; one of the hands on the right was probably in the *abhaya mudrā*, the other left is some unrecognizable object. But the high mitre-like head-dress with the figure of Amida leaves no doubt as to the identity of the image.² Two more images which may be identified as two different forms of Avalokiteśvara are also known from Hinawza. One is a small standing image of bronze very badly damaged; the portion below the waist is missing, the feet, fore-arm and the entire right arm have gone. The image is richly adorned with ornaments, including a high *mukuta*.³ Any definite identification mark is absent, and though we cannot be certain if it represents Avalokiteśvara, there is no doubt that here we have an image of a Bodhisattva. But the six-armed image made of thin gold plate and recovered from the Yawda kwin excavations is definitely identifiable as one of the various forms of Avalokiteśvara. The god is seated in *lalitasana*, two of his hands are in the *varada* or *ekahāṇḍa mudrā* and the remaining four carry respectively a lotus with a stalk, a conch, a trident and an indistinct object which may be a

¹ In *R. I. S. B.* 1906, p. 3.

² In *R. I. S. B.* 1905, 12, pl. LXVIII, fig. 6.

³ *Ibid.* 1928, 20, p. 105.

house of a deity.¹ According to the *Saṅghamaṇḍita* there are as many as six varieties of the six-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara, viz. Kṛtsajjita, Haddana, Haraṇa, aravāḍa, kṛbhava, Lokesvara and Sukhavaṇa Lokesvara.² But the present image does not exactly conform to the *dhyaṇas* attributed to any of them. Of these six Kṛtsajjita and Sukhavaṇa Lokesvara are seated in *lalitasana*, the one point in which the present image agrees with the *dhyaṇas*.

MAITREYA

Maitreya is the only Bodhisattva worshipped in Burma both by Hinayanists and Mahayonists. His worship seems to have been very popular. In Burmese inscriptions he is frequently mentioned as Maitreya, the Pali form of his name, the supreme wish of the founder of a pagoda or other religious edifice, and the doctors of law, or monks of other monastic necessities, to behold Maitreya, as in the Sawekkyā inscription of king Alaungsithu, or to obtain salvation in the presence of the Lord Buddha Mettāy, as in the inscription of the Lady Anawkrāyā, daughter of Tadaśāṇḍaśāma. Maitreya, Sanskrit, *metra* of *Maya* or *Madaya*, Bodhisattva Maitreya also found in a few Pali-Sanskrit inscriptions on votive tablets of king Anawraṭa and other important personages of Pagan. Here is an example:

*Maṇḍarādha deśaḥ lalam, tena Maitreya sambodho
labheyaṁ nirvṛtto (?) padam*

By me, king Anandāditya, this mould of Sugata, has been made through this good deed, may I obtain the path of Nirvāṇa when Maitreya is fully enlightened, i.e. when Bodhisattva Maitreya will have become a Buddha.

Maitreya is also mentioned in certain short Pali inscriptions written on the walls of some of the temples of Pagan, along with Lokesvara or Avalokiteśvara. The image of Maitreya in a monastic robe very similar to that of Gautama, is still very common in Burma.

One or two single images of Maitreya are also known in Burma. The ruins of Pagan have yielded a small but beautiful bronze image

¹ *Rel. Arch.* 1905, 1, p. 105.

² *J.B.R.S.* 1912, II, I, p. 101.

of Maitreya, it bears a mutilated inscription in Pyu of which the syllables *ba Maitreya ba* can still be read. *Ba* in Pyu is an honorific used with respect to kings and deities, and Maitreya is evidently Maitreya; the inscription must refer to the image on which it is engraved.

The Mahamuni image of Arakan, a great image of large proportions possibly represents Maitreya; at least there are two early Burmese chronicles, the *Maharaja Jananket* (vol. I, p. 260) and the *Pagan Raja Janat* (Misc. no. 478 of the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon) which state that it is an image of Maitreya.¹

AVALOKITEŚVARA AND MAITREYA

In Burma as elsewhere these two Bodhisattvas are often placed on both sides of the Buddha as his attendants or *carya* beings. In fact, examples of stone reliefs with similar typical attitudes are so numerous both from Hinawza and Pagan that they can hardly have exclusively belonged to the Mahayana. In some instances stone reliefs form an integral part of the decoration of temples belonging to the Theravada. Evidently both Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya were adopted, no doubt as subordinate deities, in the Theravada pantheon of Theravada can be said at all to have operated in Burma in the same manner as Indra and Brahma of the Hindu pantheon were in the early Hinayana.

At Hinawza a piece of stone sculpture was found on which a standing Buddha figure is flanked by two *carya* beings, each with elaborate ornaments and each crowned with a *mukuta*.² These attendants may be safely identified as Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara in accordance with local traditions. The excavations at Yethazan (a locality in Old Prome) yielded in 1905 a stone relief of the obverse of which is the figure of the Buddha with an aureole head. On his right is a small *stupa* and on his left is a *carya* of which looks like a flower. The pose of the Buddha is quite unorthodox according to Burmese ideas and appears to be like that of Avalokiteśvara. The palms of both hands rest on the knees and the *varita*

¹ *Am. R. A. S. B.*, 1902, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 13.

³ *Am. R. A. S. B.*, 1927-28, p. 125, pl. 113, a.

Another image of Tara which is now preserved in the Ānanda Museum, Pagan, can be easily recognized by her attitude.¹

The excavations at Hinawza have also yielded a small terracotta tablet representing an image of Tārā standing in a graceful *tribhanga* attitude, the four hands hold distinct objects. A Sanskrit *brāhmi*-Nagari script runs around the image.² The style of the tablet suggests importation from Siam or of Nalanda with which places in contact Prome was in till about contact during the 8th to 9th centuries. On account of the style the tablet may be assigned to the 9th century.

MAÑJUŚRĪ

At least one image of Mañjuśrī is known to us. In the Ānanda Museum, Pagan, which is a repository of a good number of important finds, there is a stone sculpture representing the well-known figure of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī seated in the *vajraparyankasana*. His right hand holds the sword which he sways over his head to dispel the darkness of ignorance, the left hand which generally holds the book of knowledge is unfortunately broken. His curly hair finishes at the top in a pointed *śrīṣṭa*.³ The characteristics of the image conform roughly to the *sūtra* describing the *Arpaṇa* variety of Mañjuśrī. As many as eight *sūtras* in the *Saṅghasamādā* are devoted to the description of this variety. He is always described as seated in the *vajraparyanka* attitude, clasping the sword in his right hand, and applying the *Pratītyasamutpāda* book against his chest in the left. He is sometimes accompanied by four minor divinities: Kṣetrī, Upakṣetrī, Candraprabhā and Sūryaprabhā and the four *Dharmadātṛi*—Vairocana, Kārasambhava, Anantabha and Amoghasiddhi. The present image is, however, represented single and may be compared with an almost identical image in bronze from Nepal which instead of holding the book in front of the chest, crasps the stick of a lotus on which the book is placed.⁴

¹ *Ann. R. A. S. I.* 1912, 28 p. 140, pl. IV, figs. 82, 83.

² Ānanda Museum, Exhibit no. A. 6, 2 ft. 1 in.

³ *Indra-charya: Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 26-29.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. XVI, c.

JAMBHALA

Among the minor Mahāyāna deities Jambhala is in all probability represented by the remnants of an image recovered from the ruins of Hinawza. The excavation¹ at the ancient city gate—situated near the village of Kinnungyon—yielded fragments of what was once a large-sized stone image. On account of the protruding abdomen and the elaborate ornaments, M. Dupontelle rightly identified it as Jambhala².

In the same spot were found fragments of terracotta tablets each of which bears a standing figure crowned with a *mukuta* and having four hands with some unrecognisable object in each. It may be assumed that they represent Bodhisattvas on account of their dress and ornaments as well as their attitudes. The ruins of Hinawza yielded in 1926—'27 a large-sized stone sculpture (3' × 4'2" × 1'6") which may definitely be identified as a Bodhisattva, though on account of the very damaged condition of the image and the absence of any distinctive mark, we cannot identify it more definitely. It wears a mitre-shaped headdress, wristlets and anklets, and is seated on a throne with the right knee raised and the left leg placed on a level with the throne in an attitude resembling *varadisa*. The left hand rests on the left knee, the right is missing. The figure seems to be seated in a niche representing a temple, capped by a belated arch which is adorned with flambouyant ornaments. In a panel below the throne are four gaurishas, two on each side of an object which looks like a silver, all are seated with one knee raised, and are holding in one hand the end of a cloth placed on the shoulder. Above and flanking the Bodhisattva are two small crowned figures, probably representing royal devotees.³

A fragment of a terracotta votive tablet representing a four-armed Bodhisattva is also known from Hinawza, but here too the absence of any significant attribute renders it difficult to identify the image. The god is seated in *lalitisana*, one of the two left arms—broken off at the shoulder—the other, half of which has disappeared, rests on the left knee. The upper right hand is applied to the chest and holds an non-descript object, the other hangs down at the side. On the

¹ In *RASB*, 1923, p. 16.

² In *RASI*, 1926—'27, p. 183.

right extremity of the pedestal is a kneeling figure in *namaskra-mudra* and above it is a *svayambhu*. The representation of the image with the Northern School of Buddhism is further attested to by a short Sanskrit paragraph recording the Buddha's dream in Eastern Nagas script on the face of the pedestal.¹

LOKANĀTHA

Lokanātha or Lokanātha seems to have been more popular than other Mayādeva deities which are only incidentally known and were not worshipped in Burma, and his images are more numerous than those of any other god of the same pantheon. Thus the Ayeyarwady Museum, Pagan, has two bronze images of this Bodhisattva seated on lotus throne. In each case the right hand is in the *varada-mudra* and the left hand holds the stalk of a lotus flower. On the right and left side there are the stout stalk lotus flower in a round curve ending in flowers and large. Both images are richly ornamented with necklaces, waistband *karnāṇḍas*, armlets, wristlets, and anklets which are all elaborately though not very delicately modelled. Their heads are crowned with a *śata mukuta* consisting of long locks of curly hair. The iconographic features of these two images conform exactly to the *sūthanas* devoted to the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara. Of the four *sūthanas* three represent him as single and possible that the Bodhisattva should have two hands carrying the lotus in the left and exhibiting the *varada-mudra* in the right. He may sit in three attitudes according to the three different *sūthanas* the *calita*, the *parivṛta*, and *arthaparyāṇḍha*.²

Besides the three *sūthanas* in which Lokanātha is represented alone, there is a fourth which describes him as accompanied by Tara and Hayagrīva as well as by eight other gods, four goddesses and four *śarīpāras*. In the latter *sūthana* describes the whole *mandala* of Lokanātha. The principal figure, white in colour, is described as two handed, the left holding lotus and the right exhibiting *varada-mudra*. He sits in the *calita* attitude. To his right and left were his a powerful appearance, exhibits the *varada-mudra* and carries

¹ *ibid.* p. 82, *83.

² Deattacharya, *Devatā-tīkṣṇa-sūtra*, p. 31-40. These images were reported by M. A. Coomaraswamy as Maitreya, which is evidently a mistake.

the lotus. To the left is Hayagriva who exhibits the act of bowing and carries the staff in his two hands.¹ There exist representations of Lokanātha with attendant deities that do not exactly conform to the prescribed *sastrana*. Thus we know at least two miniature paintings, both from Bengal, representing Lokanātha standing in the *abhaya* pose with the left hand holding the stick of a lotus and the right in *varada mudra*. One of them which is inscribed *Camptala Lokanatha Samitate arasachare* represents Lokā standing to his right with similar attributes and Hayagriva to his left. Two *adyadharas* are represented in the sky on both sides of the head of Lokanātha.² The other example which is inscribed *Camptala Lokanatha bhaffiraka* represents Lokā and Hayagriva both seated in a graceful attitude, the former with his hair is joined in prayer and the latter holding the stick of a lotus.³ We know yet another inscribed miniature painting of Lokanātha, also from Bengal, in which he is represented as standing and six-armed. M. Foucher describes it as follows: Bodhisattva white standing with six arms, the right hands (1) in charity, *varada mudra*, (2) holding the lotus, (3) the rosary, the left hands (1) in charity, (2) and third object, (3) the hook, four assistants to the right: (1) a *praha* kneeling with a large belly, long beak, scaped mouth, face yellow, a green female Bodhisattva, viz., Lārī. On the left: (1) red, (2) yellow with four hands (both Lārī).⁴ The miniature is inscribed *Harik, ladesevā Lokanatha*, therefore, there can be no doubt as to its being identified with Bodhisattva Lokanātha, though it does not, nor do the two described above, conform to the *sastrana* of the divinity.

On the left wall of the vestibule of the Kubukkyū temple, Myinpagon, Pagan, there is a more than life-size painting of a divinity which from an oblique point of view resembles the god represented on the miniature paintings of Bengal referred to above. The painting covers almost the entire wall and the central position is occupied by a large-sized white-coloured figure standing

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38—39.

² Cambridge Univ. MS. No. 551, of pp. 1, 2, 1, and 2, see Wyatt-Smith, *Buddhist and Brahmanic Sastrana*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1912, 23, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

³ A.S. Bengal MS. No. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ Foucher, *L'Asie Centrale*, tome I, pp. 155, 156, 157.

in a graceful *ananga* pose. But instead of six, he seems to have ten hands of which two are clasped as if in prayer to a superior divinity, in this case probably the Buddha himself who occupied the sanctum of the temple. Two hands hold long stalks of lotus flowers and two others seem to be in *varada mudra*. The poses and attributes of the remaining hands cannot be made out. On both sides of the main figure two gods are apparently shown kneeling down with hands folded and over the head we notice two three-headed figures, both seated on a *padmasana* and holding lotus stalks in their hands. It is not unlikely that the two kneeling figures in prayer represent Jambudī and Ilavrigraha for they take readily occupy the position of subordinate deities. The two figures above possibly represent two of the eight attendant gods.

Reference to Lokanātha is made in at least two Tibetan inscriptions printed on the walls of the Pagan temples. Two frescoes, one in the Cakḥpaya chieft Nyung nest and another in a pagoda hall a minute to the Sennay Pagodas, are stated in contemporary Burmese writing to be pictures of Lokanātha. The Cakḥpaya chieft fresco has evidently been disfigured, but the inscription below is clear. It has been read by Mr. Luce *paṇḍita Lokanātha*. The Bodhisattva Lokanātha. The letter says Mr. Luce "is a fairly large picture showing a standing Bodhisattva. It is unfortunately damaged in the centre, but he seems to be holding a lotus leaf in front of his waist. Mr. Luce does not say in which hand the god carries the lotus leaf, though I presume it must be in the left, where the right should be in *varada mudra* if this is so. This example from Pagan agrees as far as the main figure is concerned with those of the miniatures from Bagan referred to above. The legend below the painting reads:

Ṭa-ṣa-ka-purṇa-dā-Ṭa-kanāṭa-te-Ṭa-ṣa-ka-lap-se-nā-maṭṭa-Ṭa-an (S)akā-ma-ra-pa-ma-saṭṭa-lap-ke-ma-ṣa-ma-ṣa-ka-ṣa-ma-bha-pa-ṣa-ma-lap-ṣa-ma-ṣa-ma. This is the Bodhisattva Lokanātha (Lokanāṭha) who made this cave temple, desire to get a three reward. May I get sons, grandsons, slave, a full set of them, also to support (me)". 4.

VAJRASATTVA

An image definitely belonging to Tantric Mahāyāna cult is

⁴ *J B R S.*, XV, II, 1924, p. 141, fn. 5.

preserved in the Ananda Museum, Pagan. It is a stone sculpture representing a male and female figure embracing each other. Both figures are two-handed, the male being seated in the *vajraparyankāsana*. This sculpture evidently represents a Mahāyānist deity with his *sakti* in the well-known *yab-yum* position. The attributes in their hands are not clear, but it is permissible to identify the image tentatively as Vajrasattva who is the sixth *Dharmabuddha* and is regarded by the Vajracarists of Nepal as the preceptor of the group of the five *Dharmabuddhas*. When represented in *abhaya* he is closely associated with his *sakti* in embrace and is represented as seated in *vajraparyankāsana*.¹

PAYA THON ZU AND SANDAMANA FAINTINGS: TANTRIC GODS AND GODDESSES

Among archaeological materials which are important in offering evidence of the existence of the Mahāyānist in Burma we have now dealt with sculptures, bronzes and terracotta objects and a few examples of paintings representing Mahāyānist divinities. Incidentally we have mentioned inscriptions which confirm that evidence.

As a more fruitful source is provided by a long series of paintings found on the walls of a group of temples of Pagan. These paintings represent gods and goddesses that are evidently of tantric character, and though it is not yet possible to identify them all with certainty, their affiliation to the Tantric Mahāyānist pantheon is perfectly clear. It is curious that nearly all these paintings are found on the walls of temples at Minnanthu, a small village to the north-west of the main city of Pagan. Here we find the remains of a number of temples and monasteries the walls of which are covered with some of the best preserved frescoes in Burma, executed to serve the ends of a particular form of Buddhist worship, a sort of Mahāyānist Tantrism. Other localities in and around the ruined city of Pagan also abound in temples and monasteries containing such paintings, but their subject matter, except in a few instances can hardly be described as Mahāyānist or Tantric. It seems therefore that Minnanthu was the centre of the Tantric Mahāyānist sect which here had its monasteries and places of worship.

¹ Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.* pp. 67-7, pl. IX, c & d.

It is not unlikely that after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism into Pagan — and its subsequent official adoption by the State and the people — the adherents of these Northern Buddhist cults were able to withdraw from the heart of the city to the outskirts where in their own territories they continued to practise the ritual of their particular cult. This would explain why nearly all the older Buddhist relics are found in that locality.

On our interesting trip up from our point of view consists of three small square temples together called the *Paya-thon-zu* and the fourth a few hundred yards from the *Paya-thon-zu* called the *Nethan-zu*. The three temples of the *Paya-thon-zu* which consist of a vaulted *yanon* and vaulted corridors enclosing the four sides of a solid square structure of brickwork crowned by a *sikhara*. The three temples are joined by two narrow vaulted passages leading from the first to the second and from the second to the third. On the walls of the easternmost of the three squares there is a series of paintings representing Bodhisattvas embracing their respective *saktis* or consorts. Some of them are shown holding a *sakhi* in each arm; their dress is frankly secular, they wear coloured and patterned skirts, elaborate ornaments and very jeweled crowns, and their poses and attitudes are erotic and suggestive. Others are represented as seated with one *sakhi* on one knee, or two, one seated on each knee. Some of the Bodhisattvas appear to have two hands only but in several instances they have four and even six and eight hands holding different attributes and exhibiting various *mudras*. I have not succeeded in tracing the *sathanas* which would answer these Bodhisattvas with their *saktis* though the ideological relation is evident, in fact not one of these representations agrees in all details with any particular *sathanā* describing Bodhisattvas accompanied by their *saktis*.

In one of the panels of the *Paya-thon-zu* two exactly similar Bodhisattvas stand side by side in a slightly marked but graceful *abhinaya* pose. They wear the usual short skirt, ornaments and the richly decorated crown. Each of them has eight hands, two of which are held before the chest in what appears to be *dharmacakra* or *akhyana mudra*, the remaining three on the left hold attributes just as the three on the right and these are what seem to be a flower (it resembles neither the lotus nor the *nagakesara* — the leaves of a

palm-leaf book and third, an indistinct object which may either be a shield or a rosary. Two figures kneel on two sides in the attitude of adoration. The whole panel is very interesting from an iconographical point of view, but our present knowledge of the pantheon of Northern Buddhism does not allow us to identify them. In this temple also there is one figure with three faces seated in *parivardhana* and provided with four hand-holding attributes that are hardly recognisable. This figure may tentatively be identified with a variety of Maitreya or with either of the two varieties of Mahayasi, Nam-sin-mi and Ma-gu-mi-tse.¹

The central temple of the Paya-thon-zu group also has on its walls a fresco representing a seated Bodhisattva embracing two *saktya* on two sides. It is a striking feature of these frescoes which was first pointed out by M. Derruché that whereas a few of these Bodhisattvas have more or less Indian features, the *saktya* they embrace are undoubtedly Indian.²

In the same group of temples there are also represented one of a two-headed divinity standing in graceful *tribhanga* attitude with one of his hands either the right or the left in accordance with his position to the right or left of the main image in the niche in *vyakhyana-mudra* and the other clasping the stalk of a *vanakalavara* creeper. He is decked with elaborate ornaments, wears a turban and is dressed in a befitting garment that flows from his knees to his ankles.³ That he represents a Bodhisattva is certain, but one can hardly be more sure about his identification.

On one of the walls of the eastern most temple of the Paya-thon-zu group, to the right of a large niche now empty, there is a vertical panel containing three separate rectangles representing different subjects.⁴ The topmost and the bottom rectangle each represent a Bodhisattva standing in a *tribhanga* pose with two *saktya* clinging on two sides, once it repeated scene in the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamuni temples. The rectangle at the middle represents however a very interesting divinity standing in a slight *abhaya* attitude.

¹ Bhaddhariva, p. 10, pls. XIII, XIV, XVI.

² In *Revue de l'Asie*, p. 11, 12.

³ Cf. Arch. Sur. Burma (photo-negative no. 50402) (1922), p. 3, 34 (102, 125).

⁴ Cf. Arch. Sur. Burma (photo-negative no. 5234) (1922), p. 22.

Besides the usual wealth of precisely decorations and garments, he is endued with ten hands, two of which are clasped in adoration in front of his chest, evidently in respect to the deity in the sanctum. The attributes in his eight other hands cannot unfortunately be recognized. Two figures, presumably females, squat with folded hands on his two sides. No known *sūtra* of Buddhist iconography seem to agree exactly to the description, though it is evident that the deity must belong to the rich pantheon of the Vajrayāna. This is of the more significant, for it shows how little we know of the numerous gods and goddesses of this pantheon from written texts.

The paintings on the walls of the Nandamūnī represent similar subjects, and even some instances characterised by a much more sensual attitude. A fine piece is exclusively devoted to the representation of a group of women in most voluptuous poses. An inscription set up within the precincts of the Nandamūnī itself throws welcome light on the debasement of Buddhism which these paintings serve to illustrate. Its purport is that the Nandamūnī temple was built at the instance of King Nandisithu, a devoted Theravādi and the founder of the celebrated Shwegōgā and the Thathanāyā temples, in 690 Sakkāya (= 1248 A.D.) in it also resided the monks who lived close by in a monastery, the remains of which can still be seen not very far from the temple itself. It further states that out of the revenues of tax and dedicated to the temple the monks residing in the monastery were fully provided, morning and evening with *meat*, rice, *betel* and a *pot of spiced* (spiced) (Tawng) food in the evening, partaking of meat and drinking spirit were particularly a horror to the Theravādis, which these monks certainly were not. Such practices of luxury do seem rather to connect them with one of those later forms of Northern Buddhism which were largely influenced by tantric rituals and practices, and the paintings seem to confirm that assumption. But what is even more curious is the fact recorded in the same inscription that Nandisithu asked one of his ministers to take this temple and the monastery into his lord's hand and that he sent Sañ Añhan, the Theravādi private of the realm and the man who had brought the Theravāda to Pagan, to Tentsesserim to bring a sacred relic to be deposited in the temple which evidently was associated with a tantric cult of the Mahāyānists. This is an unique example of the spirit of toleration that

existed at that time in the great metropolis of Burma, or shall we say, of the eclecticism of the Buddhism of Pagan which, though decidedly Theravādic, was largely modified and reshaped not only by the primitive naga and spirit worship but also by Viṣṇuistic Brahmanism. It is not surprising that this new religion in trying to absorb the already existing Mahāyānist and Tantric cults would attempt compromises here and there and in that process be itself influenced by them. But to this aspect of the problem we shall turn at the end of our study. In any case, the temples and the paintings on their walls, but most of all, the inscription of the year 1248 referred to above, prove not only that the Theravāda flourished in Pagan side by side with the Mahāyānist and Tantric cults, but also that the latter had considerable hold on the people and the court. The support and patronage of Narapatisithu and the private Śrī Śaṅkha both devout Theravādīs are significant.

We have already stressed the fact that the Nandamūrti is iconographically much more interesting than the Pyaw-thon-zu. The divinities pictured on its rich walls are much more exotic and Tantric in character and represents a greater variety. Besides the paintings described above, we have a number of representations of a divinity standing alone (without accompanied by his *śakṛa*), richly jewelled, with one of his hands in *dhyaṇa* or *ābhaya-mudrā* and the other clasping the stalk of a flower-crozier.¹ This divinity, evidently a Bodhi-ātma, is not definitely identifiable, but there is one representation of a god in one of the vertical panels which seems to lend itself to a more or less definite identification. The panel is vertical and is divided into three rectangles; in the topmost one, the Bodhi-ātma in *dhyaṇa-mudrā* is represented as seated in *varapaṇāṅka* and discoursing to his two disciples seated on two sides. The middle rectangle presumably represents the well-known episode of the subjection of the Nāgāśura-dēvātā. The lowermost rectangle shows a divinity seated in what resembles the *āśhāpārasaṅka* or *mādhāra* attitude with his left hand in the *vitarka-mudrā* and the right hand raised up with his long thin stalk of a flower-crozier. A winged *Kinnara* with folded hands seems to

¹ Cf. Arch. Sur. Burma (phot. negative no. 26-221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226) (1921-22).

wait upon him to the right. No *sadhana* seems to agree with its description, but one may tentatively identify it with either Mahara-jallā Manushi or Lokanātha.¹ There is almost exactly a similar representation in a corresponding panel on the other side of the particular niche of the temple.²

THASRUJA AND AREYADANA TEMPLES: AVALOKITESVARA, MAÑJ ŚRĪ LOKANĀTHA

Besides the Payathonzu and the Nandamunna which were evidently favourite resorts of the followers of the Mahāyāna and other allied cults, there still stand in the midst of the ruins of Pagan several other temples which bear testimony to the once prevailing Mahāyāna and its allied cults. I have already mentioned one or two such temples, but there are others still notable among them are the Thasruja and the Areyadana. On a wall of the eastern porch of the Thasruja temple³ Manushi there is a painting representing a divinity seated cross-legged in an *abhinaya* position.⁴ He is richly decked with ornaments and is encircled with a corded *makuta* with flamboyant designs. His right hand is in *varaka mudra* and the left is in what may be called *varala mudra*. Floral creeps flourish in delightful curves on both his sides. The representation does not easily lend itself to identification, though one readily recognizes here a Bodhisattva, perhaps Avalokitesvara. On a wall of the temple at the southeast corner of a field near the Samingya Pagoda Myingagan there is a representation of a standing Bodhisattva almost exactly similar in decorative and iconographical details to those we have already noticed on the walls of the Payathonzu and the Nandamunna.⁵ Artistically a better representation of the same divinity can be seen in a painting on a wall of another little-known temple⁶ in Pagan. The attitudes and *mudras* of the

¹ *Ibid.*, no. 24/3277 (1921—'22).

² *Ibid.*, no. 82/3229 (1929—'30).

³ Said to have been built in 1345 A.D. by Thasruja, queen of Uzana, king of Pagan. *Annuaire de l'Institut Oriental de l'Inde* (1922), p. 28.

⁴ Arch. Surv. Burma photo-negative no. 22/3286 (1930—'31).

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 63/3480 (1931—'32).

⁶ Unfortunately, I could not get the name of this temple; it does not seem to have been recorded in the list of the Archaeological Survey of Burma.

hands slightly differ in the present case¹ but it may not be very wrong to identify all similar paintings as representing Avalokiteśvara who seems to have been the most popular Bodhisattva in Burma. It is not also unlikely that they may also be identified with either Maitreya or Mañjuśrī. The positions they occupy on the walls have some significance in this respect. Each wall is generally provided with a deep niche at the centre which must have once contained a stone or brick image of the Buddha in fact at several distances these images can still be seen occupying their respective places. On the outer wall of the two sides of the niche are to be seen two large paintings representing—as described above—two standing divinities in almost identical attitudes with similar dress and ornament. That one of them is Avalokiteśvara and the other Maitreya or Mañjuśrī there can be no doubt, but it is not easy to see which one represents Avalokiteśvara and which one Maitreya or Mañjuśrī. There is nothing in their attitudes or in their attributes to distinguish them.

A most interesting temple is the Abeyadana² at Manipakane. In the niches disposed around the walls of the exterior of this temple one can still see some beautiful stone images of the Buddha seated in conventional *mudras*. On its walls there are remarkable examples of paintings—some of the very best we find in Burma—representing Buddhist subjects in which gods and goddesses of Northern Buddhism predominate and what is no less interesting also depicting some Brahminical deities among whom at least two are recognisable at once.³ Built by Kyauzittha son of King Anaw

¹ Arch. Sur. Burma photo-negative no. 14-3474-1935-30.

² Said to have been built by King Kyauzittha c. 1084 A.D. of Anawrahita.

³ As these materials were not available to me when my *Introduction to Gods in Burma* was published (1936) I take this opportunity to exhibit these two paintings here. One of them Arch. Sur. Burma photo-negative no. 6-1423 of 1931—see it presents Siva riding a rhinoceros. Seated on his two hands he carries the *damru* and the *trident* round the neck he wears the snake garland and from his *atimukuta* flows the sacred stream of the Ganges. The other (Arch. Sur. Burma photo-negative no. 6-1425-1931) represents the goddess Yamuna riding her lion and holding the lotus that holds in its mouth what seems to be a fish or a snake or a flower. The goddess is endowed with four hands of which two are held together in front

Coming back to the paintings themselves from the Abeyadana, we find one interesting horizontal panel on the east wall of the east corridor of the temple representing a divinity seated in *calitasana* with a graceful *abhaya*. His right hand is shown in *varada-mudra* and the left in what resembles the *svastika mudra* attitude. A full-blown lotus flower rises in a beautiful curve at the left, and two female attendants kneel in adoration on two sides.¹ The *usana*, the *banda* and the lotus flower seem to indicate that the god represented is Lokanātha who we have already seen was a popular Bodhisattva in Burma.

In the same temple, on the western portion of the south wall there is an exquisite drawing consisting of two empty niches, one above the other.² The upper niche is flanked by two standing figures who are evidently attendant deities or simply *devaputas* attending on the divinity presumably the Buddha supposed to occupy the niche. The figure on the right holds in his right hand a round wheel and in his left a pointed sword (see Fig. 1) to the corresponding shoulder. That on the left holds a spear in his right hand and a round wheel in his left. Both are crowned and elegantly decked with ornaments, and on both sides of each niche take with half-blown and full-blown lotuses. It is difficult to offer any identification for these two persons, but if they are attendant deities they certainly represent Bodhisattvas.

Intervening the two niches there is a horizontal panel which depicts six different scenes, short but dramatic. I can offer no identification of any of them, but one of them, the third from the right, representing an ascetic seated in a *raja-mudra* and with a garland of skulls round his neck and carrying a lotus (see Fig. 2) on his shoulders, seems to represent a Tantric deity.

It is well known a certain association of the bowl, ring, sword, and lotus. I regret with shame the ignorance of this association. It lies in this connection:

¹ Arch. Sur. Burma photographs are deposited in the British Museum. The source of the best preserved drawings from Pegu is No. 107, Plate 1, fig. 1, and as to their place in the history of Indian painting, see also, for example, a study, *Painters and Paintings*, in press.

The niche at the bottom is also guarded by two divinities, seated in what resembles the *ardhaparyankasana*. Both are crowned and wear usual ornaments. The one on the right carries a mace in his right hand and a spear in his left, the other holds the *cakra* in his right hand and the sword in his left. But what is most interesting both of them appear to wear what seem to be skin boots. From his attributes (e.g. the *cakra* and the sword) and the boots, the figure on the left may perhaps be identified as that of Śiṣya, but in that case the seated position is somewhat unusual. The figure on the right does not seem to reveal its identity, if it is not taken as Arjuna, the charioteer of Śiṣya, but it is safer to know them at present simply as attendant deities.

Just above these two figures there are depicted two divinities seated in *varasana* on two tall blown glass seats and each flanked by two kneeling worshippers. The right hand of the figure on the right is *varada mudra* and the left clasps the stalk of a lotus flower that blossoms just above the corresponding shoulders. The hands of the figure on the left are in exactly similar positions, but on the tall blown lotus flower we can easily notice the *Pratiparivāra* mark. The two figures perhaps respectively represent Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

On the east wall of the east corridor of the same temple is represented a god seated in *ardhaparyankasana* with his right hand holding a *trayaśūlasamāna* and his left clasping the rod of a long trident resting horizontally against his body.¹ The figure does not itself to identification, not, but it certainly belongs to the varied pantheon of the Vajrayana.

HAYAGRĪVA

On the same wall there is a painting depicting another interesting god of the Vajrayana pantheon. He is represented as seated in *ardhaparyankasana* and curving a *vara* in his left hand raised above the corresponding shoulder. No attribute in his right hand cannot unfortunately be determined. The god is painted in red colour and what is still more significant is that over his crown

¹ Arch. Sur. Burma photo-negative no. 303207 of 1930—31.

² Ibid. photo-negative no. 303208 of 1930—31.

peeps out the head of a horse.² The painting can at once be identified as depicting Saptarātri Haya-grīva. The *skandha* has given that Haya-grīva when depicted as an independent deity has red colour, carries the *capra* and the *daṇḍa* in his two hands and shows the horse's head over his crown.³ The painting agrees wonderfully well with the *skandha* and we can assume that the right hand of the god carries the *daṇḍa*. So far as I knew, this is the first image of Haya-grīva that has up to now been recognized in Burma.

² Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, II, 53-54.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARI SECT AND THE SAMANAKUTTAKAS—TANTRIC
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

WHO WERE THE ARIS?

The wall paintings of the Paya-thon-zai and Nan-lamañña Temples, as we have seen, and the evidence of the Tibetan monk-scholar Lā-ta-nī¹ (this will be shown in a subsequent chapter) point to the existence of a certain fond-dust sect in Pagan, and perhaps also in other localities in Burma. This sect was probably that of the Aris (who, in my opinion, were the same as the Samanakuttakas referred to in the *Samadānaya*, who according to Burmese tradition had their principal centre on the Paga-hul at Tharadith near Pagan where their cult persisted in spite of repeated royal persecutions, and probably as late as the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Much has been written about the Aris and their cult; quite a number of scholars have attempted to throw light on the history of this mysterious sect, and whatever has been recorded of them in traditions, local chronicles, and inscriptions has been discussed at length.² Their identity has long puzzled scholars until M. Duroselle gave a most comprehensive account,³ discussing all evidences at his disposal, and identifying the Aris as a sect affiliated to the Northern School of Buddhism and fully saturated with Tantrism.

¹ *Thavay Hwey, of Burma* (p. 104); *R. J. P. O.* (1901), p. 381; *Ann. J. E. Ind.*, p. 100; Law-Son-kyi, *Burmese Sketch* (Duroselle, *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, I, p. 2); *Thavay Hwey, of Burma* (pp. 1—8, 60, 95, 113); but the *Thavay Hwey* is rather a far-fetched book (*CSJ*, 1915, II, pp. 51—52). The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism. Since Duroselle wrote more about the Aris have become known, as a result of a better knowledge of the *Shavhira* (i.e., the *Shavhira*) and of the wall paintings of Pagan. This chapter attempts a more adequate account based on all the facts so far known.

² *Op. cit.*

All evidences tend to support M. Duroiselle's conclusions. Here we wish only to present the subject in a fuller and more correct historical perspective than lay within the scope of M. Duroiselle's study, and stress those points which lend support to his conclusions.

Among the sources relating to the Arts and their cult, the information supplied in the *Hmannan* is the most detailed and interesting; it will be necessary to give a full account so far as possible of the source materials in this connection before attempting any interpretation. No apology will be needed if we proceed to quote entire extracts from the *Hmannan* dealing with the Arts and their cult. This will, we shall presently see, help us in expanding and correlating other references to the sect from different sources, including such as do not mention them by name.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *HMMANAN*

“Now the farmer became king. Nyaing Nyainghan (943-991 A.D.) and was great in glory and power. At his commander position he made a fine and pleasant garden and he wrought and held a great image of Naga. He taught it good ways to make and worship the image of Naga.¹ Because Naga was a great deity, more and his power greater. Moreover, he consulted the heretical² Ari monks regarding the Zagan

¹ Arts is the phonetic transcription of the name; it is written *Arān* in using the written form. Further, *Arān* (Arān) derives this word from *Arāṇaka*, having been taken in the Theravāda script. The word *Arāṇaka* at Sāṅghāyana in which the word *Arāṇaka* occurs, and which he took to be the same as the Burmese *Ar*, is a different form. But M. Duroiselle points out that *Arāṇaka* is a proper name, that of a monastery, a forest, and a world ending made a name never abbreviated in Burmese, but always retain their pure form. Moreover, the Arts were not ascetic living in forests, but the Buddhist and Brahminical *Arāṇakas*. The word *Arāṇaka* in many other terms in or on the skirts of villages. The word *Arāṇaka* from *Arāṇaka* (old form) becoming in Burmese *Arāṇaka* (which is a way pronunciation), Duroiselle *op. cit.* p. 92-100.

² Here we can see how the pre-Theravāda Buddhism of Lagan was permeated by Naga worship, which continued to take its share of influence even after the Theravāda reformation.

³ Note that these alien uses are used by the author or authors of the *Hmannan* who were admittedly Theravādas. If a much later date. Note also the attitude in these extracts how the later and more orthodox Buddhists held this earlier heterodox sect in disrespect, if not positive contempt, and how they loved to narrate the story of the attempts made to root them out.

with the \mathcal{H}_∞ norm. The \mathcal{H}_∞ norm of a system is the maximum singular value of the transfer function matrix. The \mathcal{H}_∞ norm of a system is the maximum singular value of the transfer function matrix.

That Approximate Law was a law of the path of the ray and when he heard and saw the same law stated in terms he was acquainted with, by Charni for the first time, he did not venture to doubt it, to become the True Law.

[illegible]

The extracts above quoted do not allow us to decide at what time the cult of the Arian was introduced in Pagan.² For it is clear that already before the middle of the tenth century they were so powerful that the king and the whole country held their doctrines. And even without taking the number of thirty Arians or that sixty thousand disciples too literally, we may assume that they counted numerous followers and were an important factor to be reckoned with when Anawrahta made the first attempt to crush their influence. They had their centre at Hamedan, a village not very far from the Pagan metropolis, and after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism Anawrahta established a zealous perse-

17-3-1 1-14 2-15 3-16

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

Extract 1 purports to say that the present situation in the Andean Union is entirely positive. It is at least a somewhat positive picture with firm support from the United States and other industrialized countries. However, the present statement is exactly the opposite of a well-known statement of 1984. It is only 20 years after the fact is to disprove the statement. Extract 1 that the "average" of the 12 great grandparents of Mrs. A. was 20 years old (below) the average of the Americans.

exaltations. They set up monastic rules at night, were great drinkers, and had a weakness for another sex. They kept their hair about two inches long, wore a kind of extended hat and robes of a colour not orthodox, they added a variety and peculiar medicine, they sold amulets and recipes for the attainment of magical power, and they bred, rode and ran horses, and exercised themselves in the use of arms. They were powerful at Ava in the fifteenth century, in the reign of king Pathanayasinga, the monks among them had free entrance of the palace at any time of the day, and there, it is said, they often drank so much, brately, as to be sent back to their monasteries in pain-pur. They are still mentioned in the eighteenth century when a thousand of them suddenly rebelled from Ava and put to flight a party of Lahuings, with whom the Burmese were often at war".¹

It is evident that the original doctrines of the Aris had undergone a complete transformation and the sect existed in a degenerate condition without having any religious hold or significance. The later descendants of the Aris were only known as such, but they had very little to connect themselves with those from whom they claimed to have been descended.

WHO WERE THE SAMANAKUTAKAS?

Besides the specific references to the Aris and their descendants we meet with certain references in inscriptions and histories which may, in the light of the extracts already quoted from the *Itanman*,

¹ Duroiselle, *op. cit.* pp. 100-101. Elsewhere in his work he mentions the fact of the Aris being a "Vijayakuta" people, they had the unexpected result of producing the sect known to parts of Burma and its remnants, though not stated Aris are still existent among a large number of Shan people. Any view on the original doctrine has been forgotten, though the characteristic laxity of morals has persisted. Amongst the Burmese themselves, at the Burmese capitals and other places of importance, a degenerate form of Aris may be said to have lasted well into the eighteenth century. The manuscripts of the Aris seem to have disappeared as well as the right to the name, probably due to the annual exorcises and the easy doctrine about the reincarnation says that the spirit of the old sect survived in the lives of good, but especially of the monks and women. The greatest part of this transformation was due to the great religious reformation of Haidhyan carried out in the eighteenth century by King Tharunaceti as recorded in the *Kalyan* manuscript (pp. 100-101).

first hand them over to the *u-ayya*—after giving them in marriage—whosoever transgresses this law is doomed to great sin.¹

Besides this specific references to the Arys and Samanaka Itakas, there is at least one other reference that almost certainly relates to this heterodox sect. It is in the Nannananta inscription of 1238 A.D. already mentioned in a preceding chapter where its significance has been pointed out. Here is the relevant passage from the inscription:

The minister *unna* intended that these things be collected for the monks: two pots of *u-ayya*, two *u-ayya*—bottles of *u-ayya*—*u-ayya*—*u-ayya*—of meat, one ten-quart pot of long fermented *u-ayya*.² This *u-ayya* was used in the process of the *u-ayya*.³

Doubtless it indicates Aryan rituals, for as the middle of the thirteenth century—and even under royal patronage as Kyaukse. The actual word *Ary* does not occur in the inscription, but considering that the locality has always been referred to as the land of the Arys, the origin and intimate character of the practices of the temple itself and the mention of meat and spirits to be provided for the monks, there cannot be the least doubt that this temple and the attached monastery, along with other of the locality, e.g., the *Pavasthau-zu-ka-upa* were forms of the mysterious sect of the Arys.

The very omission of their name further shows that the Arys were then recognized as a long standing and matured local institution. Further more, the provision of meat, rice, and temples and the providing of more than the usual necessities of monks' life for their use is a proof that far from having been extirpated by King Anawrahta in 1057—as was at first thought—they were held in the contrary in high esteem, not only among the people, but also at the court.⁴

SOME ADDITIONAL ARGUMENTS

The moot point to be decided in this connection is whether the Arys were really a Buddhist sect. Opinions have very naturally

¹ This point has already been stressed by Dr. May, *loc. cit.* p. 10.

² *Inscriptions of Burma*, *Excavated*, Vol. IV, no. 2, 17. For the date and other historical implications, see the *J. A. S. B.*, *1939*, pp. 300-301.

³ Duvallet, *op. cit.*

differed on this question. Mr. Phayre contended that they were not Buddhist in any sense of the term¹ while Mr. Faint held that Ariem was the god of the Arys² and that their cult was purely a primitive and heathen one or, at least largely so by Naga worship. Mr. Huber and Mr. Law Smith, however, held that they represented a debased form of Mahayana Buddhism introduced by the indigenous Naga cult on the one hand and Siva, Brahma and Buddhism on the other.³ The most recent hypothesis was put forward by M. Duroselle according to whom the Arys were a Jaina sect belonging to the Northern School, according to the speculations of the people and were priests of the Naga cult, but were then preyed on by the latter and absorbed into their cult as they were connected with this indigenous worship. About the eighth century they were profoundly influenced by Buddhism and were subjected to grossly immoral practices owing to their association with and perhaps more particularly to the influence of the followers of Vajrayana and Sakajivā cults of Bengal and Nepal.⁴

It is extremely hard to go over the same ground as M. Duroselle has done but I have discussed the question from a few points of view and conclusions are referred to his article. I would here point only to two or three aspects of the evidence at our disposal that go to support his conclusions.

It has already been pointed out that the extracts quoted from the *Homannas* seem to own the Ariem as a Buddhist sect but they were recorded as heathens because they had deviated from their original faith and had thus weakened their own religion. The implication of the *Homannas* appears also to be supported by the *Samsamannava* which is written in styles the Ariem as Samanakkakias, it also mentions who corrupted the original religion by their heathenish ideas of the *faras*. If it means anything it seems to suggest that these Samanakkakias were in reality Buddhist monks but were gradually and corrupted owing to a number of causes that they were considered heretics by the followers of the Theravāda. Among the contributory causes may have been the primitive

¹ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 33.

² Faint, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 126.

³ Huber, *P. L. E. E. G.*, 1880, p. 254; Law Smith's *Burmese Sketches*, p. 179; Duroselle, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

practice of *tan* (primal matter), heavy sacrifices and the drinking of liquor associated with it, and not a little the outstanding tale of Tantric Buddhism from Bengal.

But more definite evidences are afforded by the paintings of the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamatha temples and the Nandamatha inscription of 1248. The two temples were exclusively Buddhist places of worship, the main figure enshrined in the sanctum of each temple is that of the Buddha seated in the *dhyanasamudhaya* and on the walls and ceilings of each are painted numerous figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. One of the figures of the Nandamatha represents a standing figure of the Buddha sitting *Avatamsaka* with his right hand in the *varada mudra* and a number of rays radiating from his *utthara* Tara. This and other figures represent figures of Bodhisattvas prove definitely that these temples were Buddhist places of worship affiliated to the Mahayana and not to the Theravada. The Nandamatha inscription is also instructive in this connection. Had the temple not been intended as a place of Buddhist worship there could hardly have been any necessity for the long and arduous journey that Shin A-shin was asked to undertake to deliver Buddhist religious discourses to be deposited in the temple.

Last of all there is the Burmese text printed in 1860 already referred to¹ which definitely connects the *Avatamsaka* with Buddhist worship and typically Buddhist ritual. Images of the Buddha were made and other rituals were performed at the occasion of the ordination as a monk of a layman who had previously received the first sermon and thus passed the rank of the *Arh*.

¹ *Texts Inscriptions Found in Burma*, Vol. 1, p. 122, as Sir A. D. Scott, 1904.

CHAPTER FIVE

TESTIMONY OF BUDDHIST MONKS

Accounts left by Buddhist monks throw a flood of light on the history of Buddhism in the Indian-occupied countries of South-East Asia including Burma. Most useful from our point of view is the well-known history of Burma written by the Tibetan monk Tāranātha and an account of travel by *Das Pug Sam Jon Zang* by a Buddhist monk. Their testimony appears to have been summarized in a Tibetan work of a somewhat later date, the *Pag Sam Jon Zang*. But Tāranātha supplies the fullest account we shall need to begin with his account of the Buddhist text. As the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* mostly draws upon Tāranātha, it is unnecessary to dwell on the evidence it contains. We need only state how far it contains Tāranātha with regard to our subject. Moreover its account is far too short.¹

TĀRANĀTHA AND HIS ACCOUNT

The introduction of Mahayāna Buddhism in Pagan, Pegu and Arakan was already a thing of the past when Tāranātha wrote his celebrated history. It is unfortunate that the attitude of modern historians in dealing with the valuable account of this honest and conscientious chronicler of the events of his religion has always been one of exaggerated scepticism. In matters of chronology and as a connected history, and with regards to names of kings and princes, his account is no doubt at great variance with that of more reliable records, but when he is recording episodes of historical or geographical information, especially in connection with the history of his own faith nearer his own times, he gives us on the whole very important information on historical events, although dressed some-

¹ *Das Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pp. 143-54.

times in fantastic garb. He thus enables us to fill up gaps in our knowledge of the history of the period, and to explain otherwise uncountable facts and factors.

Whoever studies the account of the monk historian must admire in him an attitude approaching that of a modern historian, as far as it was possible in his days, for he cared to give an account, though short, of the sources and source materials from which he drew materials of his work in the first chapter of his work.¹ A good number of historical texts he rejected as unreliable. He largely depends on Ksemendra's work in 2000 *śloka*s which was supplemented by Indradatta's *Buddhaparipa* and Bhadrabāhu's² history of the succession of the *acaryas*. Besides these, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakāya*, a text belonging to about the 8th century, and now widely known among scholars, is also known to have been one of the important sources utilized by Taranātha. For the history of Aparāntaka, Kāśmīr, Uṇḍu, Uḍḍi, and the Kāśmīrī, our monk historian frankly confesses to have been entirely to draw upon. A remarkable evidence of honesty is that when he draws upon merely on tradition, he puts on record that he does so, and when he has either tradition or can extend his work, to refer to. He is frank enough to say, "I have not found . . . I have no exact work of history," and he leaves his readers to draw their own inferences. One may therefore safely use Taranātha's account to its advantage so long as it does not contradict known fact or tenet of history, and to the extent they may be used to up- or to overthrow not only upholding but also explaining the logic of contemporary of already established facts.

It has long been known to scholars that Taranātha's history of Buddhism in India refers to the introduction of the Mahāyāna and its allied cults in Burma, more particularly in Pagan, during the rule of the Senas of Bengal. But the implication of this reference has hardly been properly understood, nor has Taranātha's account presented in its true perspective. It is therefore proposed to give

¹ Schiefner, *Taranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, 80-100, 109-110 (1872).

² *Isaṅghāṭi* perhaps is *Bhaddāṅkara*, a work of Bhaddānupāditas (c. 1000-1100 A.D.) of Bengal which are well known in the present and are then alluded to in nineteenth century Bengali literature.

Same advice and Dharma was a great Ratnamani offered a marriage together with a large family of disciples, according to many him led the family of people who were a reflection of the law with four classes. That tooth still exists at present in the village.

Chap. XXXI. The History of the City of London, from the Year 1603 to 1688.

According to data that the first Serapike was taken, it was collected by the scientist Kuznetsov. In 1934, it was found by the Ministry of the State Science Library in Moscow. At the time, the number of years since the first Serapike was taken (1934) is not known, but it is not known that it has been taken for about 50 years¹⁴.

[illegible]

* Fukhang ← Fukâm ← Fukân ← Fagan.

* Schiöfner, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

In the word list it is interesting I think that the *lax* was influenced *per se* the rule of the *be* a way of *lax* the *lax*.

⁶ The Jay was important to the fur trade because it carried furs to the New York market and to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In the *Journal de la Compagnie du Nord*, the fur traders also refer to their slave Indians, who carried furs to the Cape of Good Hope and to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In the *Journal de la Compagnie du Nord*, the fur traders also refer to their slave Indians, who carried furs to the Cape of Good Hope and to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

which agrees on the whole with the account given by the Spaniards. According to Mendieta, a year before the capture of the fortress of San Juan, the Spaniards, under the command of the Captain General, had a party of men sent to the fortress to see if it was a goodly one. When with a liberal allowance of provisions and knowledge that at advantage there was a chance of capturing it, they attacked it by the assault. They were repulsed, and the Spaniards then retreated to the fortress. The capture of the fortress of San Juan, however, was not made by the forces of the Captain General, but by the forces of the Captain of the fortress, and the Spaniards then retreated to the fortress. The greater number of the Spaniards, however, were killed, and the whole of those that remained had their hands and feet cut off, and all slain, except the two men who were taken alive. The Spaniards then retreated to the fortress of San Juan, and the Spaniards then retreated to the fortress of San Juan. There were a great number of Spaniards who were taken alive, and when all these books came out, the Spaniards then retreated to the fortress of San Juan, and the Spaniards then retreated to the fortress of San Juan. They were not, however, all killed, but the whole of the Spaniards were

time there live many magicians and people who created magic there was many of work of magic to further the well being of creatures. At this time the gods were very simple minded and in order to attract their attention I became a girl I was 10 or as much as 12 and that day the world collapsed the gods had only the magic of Necessity remained on the Earth and I knew I was the only one I saw that I was the only I had a gift were kings of very great power because they had to take care of the gods and the

12

4. *Life* VVVV Special for ϵ_1 and ϵ_2 in \mathcal{H}_1 and \mathcal{H}_2 are ϵ_1 and ϵ_2 .

[illegible]

In their presence, the *ajapare* (the rice-taking, Asara society) of the village of *El Barro* does not come out, and they have no very important role to play in the *Almuerzo* and *Almuerzo* was always a few papers of *Almuerzo* (the *Almuerzo* of the *Almuerzo*).

¹ i.e., Brahmin kings, i.e. the Senas.

• Perhaps those who had been converts of the emperor, if caught to be converted to the traditional religion, a fact that had often now occurred, by scholars.

[illegible][illegible]

* Cf. the Sinhalese title of the *Asokavamsa* 'Sinhala Vamsa' and the Tamil *Soyanobhatal*.

It shows the great way it will fit in the car and it is very much spread even at the present day."

In the other respect there is a parallel to the case of the Mayan. But still, and especially in the case of the Mayan, it is not a question of the Sepulchral tomb, but of the tomb of the first parent, about whom the people gather, and of which we shall have to say more and less hereafter. The idea of the first parent is the same in the Mayan and the Sepulchral tomb. The idea of the first parent is the same in the Mayan and the Sepulchral tomb. The idea of the first parent is the same in the Mayan and the Sepulchral tomb.

I have on purpose given contradictory quotations from Emerson and noticed in fact notes points where the Liberator's version fits.

[illegible][illegible]

Prakāśyaṃ is certainly Prakāśaṃ. Prakāśaṃ, Prakāśaṃ, Prakāśaṃ. Among them there is a point that explains the connection between the two. With regard to the other, Prakāśaṃ states that the Supreme Brahman was neither a Śaiva nor a Viṣṇu, but really a real law of the Mahayana. In this connection we may refer to the *Prakāśaṃ* of a good number of Mahayana masters in Ceylon and quote the statement of Huan Tsang, who says that the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon are Mahayana or Śākyas. There came a time, the program states, when the monks affected to perambulate in two sets, the Bhikkhus and the monks, who belonged to the Mahāyāna and the monks of those who belonged to Abhayāsaśana, and the *Prakāśaṃ*. The *Prakāśaṃ* was the first Buddhist text of Ceylon, as Mahayana and Śākyas and the *Prakāśaṃ* is then simply Śākyas. Watters, *Yuan ching*, II, 32, 234-35.

or seems to find support from independent sources. It will be seen that *Tāranātha* is not at all concerned agreeably with known fact. It not only does not contradict any of the established facts of history, but supplies us with a logically coherent sequence of events that fit in admirably with the already set history. We may safely leave out extracts A and B which deal with events that were removed from the author's own time; moreover they have hardly any bearing on our present subject. But there is no reason to doubt the general truthworthiness of the extracts C, D and E, if of course one does not quarrel with the names of the Śāma-kings. I have pointed out in notes that the historicity of the account as given in these extracts is far as they relate to events in Bihar and Bengal, and the geographical information contained in them are fully correct. We need not therefore be sceptical regarding the general authenticity of *Tāranātha*'s account of the introduction of the Mahāyāna into the cults in Iqana.

TĀRANĀTHA SUMMARISED

Tāranātha includes Pakham (Pagan)¹, Kokkhar (Arakan) and Harasavati (Pagan in the Kokkhar land)² which also comprised the Naxa, Tā, etc. Tāpā, etc. other parts of the empire of Moṅpan. Besides Harasavati and Pakham³ and also Carpa and Kanthapa. According to the monk-historian I had quoted he had introduced into these Kokkhar countries as early as the time of Azoka, gradually grew higher up, thence thereafter. Until the time of Vasubandhu it was the orthodoxy school that flourished most. Vasubandhu began his religious career in the school of the Sarvastivādas, but was later

¹ Pakkhar is said to have been situated on the ocean. It is not at all far from Arakan, for the Pagan empire during the Amavatiha dynasty did not extend to the shores of the ocean to the south and west.

² It is not correct that the Kokkhar is the same as the tract of the country of Arakan, known to the Greeks as the Trakene. (H. H. Colebrook of Arakan, *Arakan and Upper Burma*, see *Journal of Indian Hist.* III, 1, 2).

³ It is not at all clear what *Tāranātha* exactly means by the empire of Moṅpan, which he says was among the Kokkhar and Harasavati. The early North Arakanese were immediately under the domination of Pagan during the time of the Amavatiha dynasty. At present I cannot find a position to identify Naxapa lands with Iqana.



converted to the Mahayana. Watters, *Yuan Ching* I, pp. 257-58, and himself made a large number of converts in that faith. Some of his pupils are credited with having spread the Mahayana in the Koke countries, and from that time the Mahayana began to flourish there. In fact, the Kokeiutai apparently became such an important centre of this faith that a great number of Buddhist monks of Mahayana had attained knowledge there, and after the time of the Four Sons, about 1200, the cosmopolitan of Magadha came from those countries. The Mahayana began and to have spread there from the time of Abhayakara's conversion. At the time when Magadha was captured by the Turks, who had already destroyed the *stupa* of Odantapuri and killed many ecclesiastics, a very large number of Buddhist scholars of the Mahayanist including Saichū and Saichū, Kavisithirha, Candar Karagupta, sixteen *monks*, and 200 steel products fled to Peking, then Manjara, Kambha, and other countries. If Magadha had then evidently, Tanmatra is always speaking of the Mahayana, particularly became extinct. The Kokeiutai is also supposed at a later period scholars to Tibet, among whom were Vajrasattva and other peoples. Although in the countries of the Kokeiutai, *Tantra*, *Tibbitharma*, and Mahayana works were very well known, the secret *mantras* had become very rare with the exception of *Karaka*, the three *mantra* sections, and a few others. And not only in Peking alone, but in *Tantra*, *Tantra*, and Peking as well, there were a few followers of the Mahayana. Though in the *Ching* of *Tantra* is there were only followers of Saichū.

IN DEFENCE OF TĀRANĀTHA

A scholar like M. Tucci has warned us not to be misled by the apparent profusion of Tāranātha's varied accounts. Such warning is justified, since Tāranātha wrote a long time after the events which he narrates, and since he could not claim to be of any real authority in the *book* is but is of the Kokeiutai. We cannot expect of Tāranātha to produce an absolutely exact historical account of the subject he dealt with. His race was Chinese, and he was not a scholar or a head of his times. But even if it is

* *Op. cit.*, J A, XX, 1912, p. 125 ff.

so significant a reference. The most convincing evidence is furnished by a number of Mahayanist and Theravādin texts that derive their record from the *days of rains* that to-day cover the wide waste of Pagan and the thinly peopled village of Hinawza; a few inscriptions referring to certain Mahayanist divinities, and an entire series of wall paintings depicting gods and goddesses belonging definitely to the Mahayanist and its allied cults. We have no reason to suppose that a Buddhist sect grossly addicted to Tantric practices, and finally of Mahayanist and Tantric Buddhist text, in a twelfth century monastic library, still more recent, is to be excluded. *Kyanatha* text, which I have thus made a special reference. All these are definite and independent proofs of the prevalence of the Mahayanist and its allied cults in Burma of which our monk scholar furnishes so vivid an account.

M. Finot also finds it puzzling to think how the Tibetan scholar could have ignored the great religious reformation of the Theravādin in the eleventh century and the active patronage of Anawrahta which generally developed into the official religion of the Pagan empire. But one must not forget the important fact that *Kyanatha* was chiefly concerned with Indian Buddhism and wrote his account from the point of view of the introduction of the religion from India into the Koko land of which modern Burma is a part. He was therefore less interested in the vicissitudes of the religion in the Koko land itself. *Kyanatha* was a follower of the Mahayanist and its allied cults, and during the period with which his present account is concerned Buddhism in the Northern School was the prevalent religion of Eastern India. He was concerned with these later forms of Buddhism so that he hardly cared to record what transformations the Hinayanist had undergone in Burma. Moreover, it all probably he had never visited Burma or heard anything of the great religious reformation inaugurated by Anawrahta which, however, had no more than a local significance. *Kyanatha's* account is not therefore to be relied upon to draw any strict conclusion as to the relative position of the two great schools of Buddhism in Burma.

We may therefore accept in a general way what *Kyanatha* says about the propagation of the Mahayanist and its allied cults in Burma. In fact M. Finot admits it when he says that his account is

in text as such as it affects Kailash and Umapa. The information contained in the records of Gilchrist and Hunter.¹

BIOGRAPHY OF BUDDHAGUPTA

It has generally been observed that in compiling his history of Buddhism in the Kailash and Umapa, the author text of any other work is so accurate that he disposed to draw upon it. But there is no doubt as to the fact that he drew much from his direct experience of the country and the people. In fact, the very nature of the account given that he had a first-hand knowledge of the sources which he drew upon in compiling his history. One such source has recently been brought to light through the valuable researches of Dr. Giuseppe Tucci.²

This authority was an Indian Buddhist monk named Buddhagupta who was the principal teacher of Umapa.³ Buddhagupta was reported to have been a visitor to many places in India, China, Burma, for many of them, and even in Africa, with a view to find traces of Buddhism in those Buddhist remains. He also went to Tibet where he acquired a collection of Buddhist texts from the account of his travels and of the state of Buddhism in the countries he had visited. Buddhagupta later on embodied it in a short biography and it is called *Chakrasastra Buddhagupta's account of the state of Buddhism in the various countries*. The importance of this work is chiefly geographical.

The life and travels of Buddhagupta have been incorporated in a biography written in Tibet under the title *Sangye as shay pa*.

It is important as a source of geographical information regarding numerous places in India, Burma, Africa and several islands of the Atlantic Ocean. It may be observed that at the time of Buddhagupta

¹ Elliot, op. cit.

² Tucci, *op. cit.* pp. 100-101. (The text of the work is the sixth century AD.)

³ Tucci, *op. cit.* pp. 100-101. (The text of the work is the sixth century AD.)

seems to suggest that the Mahāyāna had by this time lost its influence in Pagan, but not in Hanthawaddy and Bagan where he heard *as far as possible the use of the secret mantras*. The implication of course is that in these countries the Mahāyāna was already on the wane.

In Tennasserim, however, the Mahāyāna seems to have been rather popular. Sri Dharmakāśaka has been identified with Amaravati on the Kester. Hence, according to certain Tibetan texts there is a place of the name *amara* (Tibet: *Amay*) over the *stūpa* Śrīmañ Dharmakāśaka referred to by Buddhagupta must be sought for somewhere in Tennasserim, or in fact it is probable to conjecture that it may have been erected by Mahāyāna contingents from Sri Dharmakāśaka in Southern India. It is however strange that no such *stūpa* or its remains exist so far as I know in Tennasserim. The Cambridge MS. no. Add. 104, has an illustration representing a *stūpa* and inscribed: *Amara-say* *Sri Sri Dharmakāśaka* which locates a Dharmakāśaka exactly a *stūpa* in the Amara-say, which I infer may have been situated on a coast.

It is curious that native tradition if I do not preserve its memory of this aspect of Buddhism which must have existed side by side with the Hinayāna even after the great Theravāda reformation of Anawrahta in the seventh and of Dharmapala in the fifteenth century. The latter this seems to have noted the existence of the Mahāyāna and its chief texts by grouping them *together*.

¹ *Tai zhi yu* 2, p. 10. Further down the *Tai zhi yu* 2, p. 11, we describe the reformation of Anawrahta, who had been converted during his pilgrimage to Sri Lanka, and the part played by him in the reformation of Buddhism in Burmah. It is interesting to compare this with what Buddhagupta says about the *Pratyakṣa* of the Śrīmañ Dharmakāśaka Carya.

CHAPTER SIX

WHEN AND WHERE DID SANSKRIT BUDDHISM PENETRATE BURMA?

EVIDENCE OF PICTOGRAPHIC RECORDS

We have now to face the last stage of our enquiry—when and where did Sanskrit Buddhism—the Mahayana with its ideal and its pathos—come to be introduced in Burma?

We have seen that considerable numbers of Sanskrit inscriptions—in stone and in copper—have been brought to light from the ruins of Hinawza and Pegu. It is significant that the script of these is of the variety that belongs to Burma of about the seventh century or later in Northern India, the tenth and succeeding centuries being current in those countries of Eastern India now largely covered by the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal. It is evident therefore that these regions were the original home of these records. In Hinawza, Sanskrit already makes its appearance about the seventh century, closely following on the Pali records discovered there which, however, are written in a script current in the Andhra-Pallava region of South India, about the fifth and sixth centuries. These Pali records obviously owe their inspiration to Theravāda Buddhism. Sanskrit may have been the language of either or of both Northern Buddhism and Bodhidharma, who was well known in the ancient Pagan, land and was practised by at least a certain section of the people. But not a single Sanskrit record, so far recovered from the ruins of ancient Pegu, can be attributed to Bodhidharma; in fact, all of them belong to Buddhism, and can be attributed either to the Mahāyānist, i.e. a Hinayānist sect of the Sanskrit as their sacred language, or to those Northern Buddhists who were known as followers of the Mahāyāna. The earliest wave of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma seems, however, to be that of the Mahāyānist, i.e. as I have tried to show, this made itself felt in ancient Pegu sometime about the seventh century.

About the ninth and tenth centuries the Mahāyāna gained the upper hand in Eastern India and throughout the monastic establishments in Bihar and Bengal; gods and goddesses of the Northern pantheon fell away. The same tendency toward a corresponding change in the relative position of the Śaśvativāra and the Mahāyāna in Burma as well. The Sanskrit used in the short epigraphs on terracotta votive tablets of the ninth-tenth centuries and the succeeding centuries is no longer the language of the Śaśvativāra, but is the language of the Mahāyāna; it was constantly poured into Burma and brought with the small votive tablets representing sacred stories or images and described with the hand of the artist. The small terracotta tablet recovered from the ruins of Hicawza and representing a standing image of a Buddha (which is described the Buddhist formula) is one of the numerous tablets that were taken by pilgrims to the monastic cities of Burma. It is the way of the Buddhist in Eastern Asia; these tablets were introduced by the Mahāyāna; this began to make itself manifest as we can ascertain from archaeological evidence from about the ninth or tenth century from which time Mahāyāna gods and goddesses began to make their appearance. It is significant that the tablet just mentioned is definitely identifiable as a Mahāyāna; namely, it is a deity which grows in the late period; though Sanskrit certainly had been known in Pagan earlier than at least a century earlier. From already for about two or three centuries. But whether one agrees or not with the relative chronological position of the Śaśvativāra and the Mahāyāna in Burma, the evidence of the epigraphic records points unmistakably to the fact that Sanskrit Buddhism was introduced in Burma not later than the seventh century, but that as indicated by the abundant and continuous supply of terracotta votive tablets with legends in Sanskrit written in Nigari characters and representing Mahāyāna deities, this Sanskrit Buddhism, the Mahāyāna with its allied cults, in pre-

* It is true that there have been uses of Sanskrit in the pre-Buddhist period, a few reliquary stones and terracotta tablets representing gods and goddesses by the Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, but they can be dated before the eighth century. But it is well known that in India these two Bodhisattvas were never regarded to be on a par with the Mahāyāna pantheon.



that it seems to have received a new lease of life from about the middle of the third century and continued its career in and around Pagan till about the close of the fifteenth century, and it is that the original home of the Sanskrit Buddhism of Burma was the North-Eastern provinces of India.

EVIDENCE OF SCRIPTURES, BRONZES AND PAINTINGS

HIMAWZA

Let us now consider how these conclusions are in a general way corroborated by a systematic consideration of the scriptures, bronzes and paintings representing Mahayana doctrines and by instances of intimate historical interrelations between Eastern India and Burma.

At the very outset we must leave out of consideration the beautiful image of Avalokitesvara from Himawza which has been described in a previous chapter.¹ The facial type, the broad and high forehead, the deep eyes and the low-arched moustache are all so fully representative of old Cambodian tradition, and it is not unlikely that the image was so and was carried over from its original home to the city of the Pyus.

First of all we have to consider the two headless Buddha images with Sanskrit inscriptions recovered from the ruins of Himawza, the one at Kewatkhingken and the other from a mound at Linnayak.² It has already been pointed out that stylistically both the images belong directly to the late Gupta tradition of the early fifth century, about the sixth and seventh centuries. The ruins of Himawza have yielded a number of stone sculptures and terra-cotta figures representing Buddhist subjects and belonging to the same artistic tradition as the Mahayana religion during the fifth and sixth centuries. There are also a variety of wood head-girds also with regard to their character recovered from Himawza representing Avalokitesvara and Manjusha flanking the Buddha. In connection with a pillar found at the ruins of the Zagu Pagoda (Himawza) Sir John Marshall states that the sculpture derives its style from

¹ *Ann. R. A. S. I.*, 1911-'12, pl. LXVIII, fig. 6.

² *Ind. Arch.*, 1928, pp. 12-13, 20 and plate 26 d, 1928-'29, p. 108, pl. 11 b.



the Tenth-century tradition of Eastern India of about the seventh and eighth centuries.¹

But the two small images of Bodhisattvas are in bronze and another in gold recovered from the ruins at Yimarkwan Hmawza² seem to belong to an entirely different art tradition and executed at a later date. Artistically they appear to differ themselves to the art of the Pairs of India and China. A stylistic consideration of the few unidentifiable images of Bodhisattvas represented on terracotta tablets bearing Sanskrit Nagari characters also leads to the same conclusion. All of them, including the image of Jambhava and the large-sized unidentifiable Bodhisattva image from the same locality, belong to what is called the Eastern School of art and can be dated on stylistic grounds to be about the tenth to about the eleventh century.

PAGAN

I have elsewhere attempted an artistic examination of the sculptures and bronzes of Pagan.³ It will suffice to repeat here the conclusions arrived at and bring out the general impression that it will bear on the present subject. The majority of the Mahayana sculpture of Pagan belongs to the great East style, to be dated around the twelfth century, and the wall paintings to a later date, the end of the paintings of the Nara-simha temple, for example. It follows, therefore, so far as can be judged from the existing evidence, that the Mahayana with its distinctive character and force in Pagan at least with a considerable section of its population even after the Theravada had become the state religion after the conquest of Uthay in 1057, even it was not the state religion of the Anawra-tha dynasty (1144-1287). It is difficult to see how the quarter of genuine and vigorous Mahayana Buddhism that the Mahayana in other parts of Northern India had lost after the dayside by side with the new Theravada had come to Pagan.

In nearly all the images, particularly in the bronze image of Lokanatha seated in *madhyama* from the Aung-Meyone Tower in the stone image of Mahajati from the same monument to the west.

¹ In *R. A. S. E.* 1928, pp. 105-10, Art. 33.

² In *R. A. S. E.* 1928, pp. 105-10, Art. 33.

³ *Ray, Sculptures and bronzes from Pagan, I. S. 1934, June 1934.*

practical tradition of the mind and gained during the 16th and 17th centuries.

During this long period Eastern India comprised the countries of modern Bengal, Bihar and Nepal, with the exception of Malabar. And the records preserved in the past by the East with Eastern White Nanchi were one of the best known countries. Bihar, however, important was Simastha, Bardhaman and other districts of Bengal where particularly the arts of painting and literature of the monuments of the Chandra and Gupta societies. The Thiruvallu was at a moment and even survived, which in China's time was so widely prevalent, came to have lost its influence.

The evidence of cultural relations between Burma and Eastern India during these centuries is almost overwhelming. The large number of terracotta vessels, which probably came over from Eastern India to Pagan and other centres, the Mahabharata of Pagan, an ancient manuscript, the first of the 1000, the repeated missions of Pagan to the East at the end of the 10th and the accounts contained in Burmese chronicles of Burmese merchants visiting the ports of Bengal and India to carry to the intimate relations that existed between Burma and India in the 10th and 11th centuries, the reputation of which in the present century has not yet been fully realised may be taken as an example. It is illustrated by two accounts of the reign of Kyaukse, a Viceroy of the Nanyang recorded in Burmese chronicles. These accounts are well known in Burma and are noted on the stage to-day. Here it will suffice to say that when a ruler of the 10th century, the love-romance of the Prince of Pathekkara with the daughter of Kyaukse, the other refers to the marriage of the Pathekkara princess by Nanyang, the eventual murder of the prince by Nanyang, and the consequent counter-attack of Nanyang by the desperados sent by the king of Pathekkara to revenge. The identification of Pathekkara was for some years ago in Burma, though the identity of the kingdom with Pathekkara is a subject of dispute, included a recent book by the author of the

* Reference may be made to *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, 1913, p. 32. *History of Burma*, An R.A.S.B., 1913, p. 32.

long ago.¹ This identification is also supported by the position of the Kaṭṭhōṇṇī or Kattōṇṇī, the Burmese chronicles, and now finally established by the Mayimōṇṇī Copperplate of Kanayakumārī, Harkkōṇṇī.² It proves once more that for about a century (c. 650-750) Pagan maintained a very intimate relation with Pāṭṭakūṭṭi or Pāṭṭakūṭṭi, the old Harkkōṇṇī which was reputed as a centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Mayimōṇṇī Copperplate mentions the establishment of Pāṭṭakūṭṭi, the Pagan form of Burmese Pāṭṭakūṭṭi, was a centre of worship of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva Mañjārī, as well as a sort of the *Saṃgha* cult, besides having been well known for the worship of another Mahāyāna god, Lokanātha.

We have been able to find numerous indications regarding the time when and the locality whence the Mahāyāna and its allied cults were introduced in Burma. This happened not later than the ninth or tenth century, possibly even earlier, as testified in Pagan during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries after which period Pagan sank into singularity. Strange to say, the period coincides almost exactly with the time when the Theravāda was enjoying a new lease of life under the patronage of the kings of the Pagan dynasty. The Mahāyāna and its allied cults were in all probability, as we have seen above, introduced in Burma from the region that now comprises Bihar and Bengal. This again is curious and interesting for throughout these centuries Pagan always kept her face turned towards Ceylon for guidance and inspiration in all matters relating to the newly introduced faith of the Theravāda. The monarchs sent her masters of the religion, Utharajiva and Capita and a host of others in succession to Ceylon to equip themselves for the great work of reformation in Burma through the purer faith of the Theravāda. It is significant that these *thēras* did not go to Kāñcīpuram or Kaveripattanam whence Burma must originally have received the Southern form of Buddhism. Evidently, these and other places in the eastern coastal regions of South India had lost their importance as centres of Buddhist learning, and Ceylon had superseded them. This is confirmed by the Kāñcī inscriptions of king Dharmapala which prove that Ceylon had by the later half

¹ *Tripurā Rājavalīkā*, pp. 4-6.

² *Ind. Hist. Quart.* IX, 1, pp. 182-183.

of the eleventh century grown to so great importance as a Buddhist centre that *mahātheras* from such diverse and distant countries as T'ien-ching, Kienlo, and Kien-p'ing came to that land to receive training and inspiration.

It is now easier for us to see how and where it was that the introduction and spread of the Mahāyāna and its allied cults began in the north with the doctrinal texts read at Buddhist centres there by T'ien-ching and supplemented by the instructions of Hsüeh-shing and the *Pag Sam Jan Zang*. The sum-total of what Hsüeh-shing says in this connection is that it was during the rule of the T'ang, but more particularly during that of the T'ang-Sung of which he held that the Mahāyāna made itself strongly felt in P'ing-ti, P'eng-ti, A-shan, so much so that even the monks of Mahāyāna received their training in these and other centres of the K'ia land, and that it was from Bihar and Bengal that the religion was introduced there. This agrees remarkably well with the conclusions we have arrived at from a study of the archaeological remains.

CONCLUSIONS

The domain of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma may, for the sake of convenience, be divided in two divisions: a Lower Burma with its political centre at the Pyu capital of Prome and later on at the Thalang capital of Thabeik; and Upper Burma with its centre at Pagan. The earliest form of Sanskrit Buddhism is probably the Mahāvīryavāharkīya which appears to have been introduced in the old Pyu capital from Magadha or Eastern India sometime before the sixth century. This is suggested by the discovery of a number of Buddhist images exhibiting the later Gupta style and some of them inscribed with Sanskrit inscriptions in the Garga Brāhmi script of Eastern India and by the evidence of Thalang as well. The Mahāvīryavāharkīya seems thus to have been introduced side by side with the Śhrīvāyatrakīya which had been introduced there, evidently from the coast of Ceylon and the Telegu country, sometime before the sixth century. It was undoubtedly the religion much more widely professed than either the Sarvāstivāda or Theravāda. This seems to have been the state of religion in ancient Prome till at least as late as the eighth or ninth centuries when Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have made its appearance to add another factor to the already varied religious life of the capital. Gods and goddesses of the Mahāyāna pantheon must have been worshipped there till as late as the tenth century; this is determined not only by the iconography of the incrustations on the numerous terracotta votive tablets found there, but also by the style of the few images of the Mahāyāna pantheon recovered from the ruins of the old city. They further tend to prove that the Mahāyāna in Lower Burma was introduced from Eastern India, more definitely from the Magadha region, the intercourse having been maintained by sea which was probably the easiest route to reach the ports of peninsular Burma.

But already by about the ninth century, if not earlier, ancient Prome was losing its political importance in the race for power and supremacy the Thalang were outwitting the exhausted Pysu. The Thalang seem to have had their centre at Thaton, then just on the sea shore, where it is the centre of Theravadi Buddhism was gradually growing up. By about the middle of the eleventh century when Marula was on the throne of Thaton, the city swarmed with learned monks in a hundred monasteries whose literature contained all the wisdom of the faith recorded in Pali.¹ The Mahayana seems scarcely to have penetrated there: we have at least no evidence to that effect.

We learn a different story in respect to Pagan and other centres of Upper Burma. If Iatantha deserves any credit, the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism in Burma lies as far back as at least the fifth century, for according to him the Mahayana was first introduced in the Koki land by the pupils of Vasubandhu from which time it continued to exist uninterceptedly. This finds an indirect confirmation in the statement of the Burmese chronicles, e.g. of the *Humayna*, to the effect that the religion of Moshu gradually grew weak from the reign of king Thawttag (c. 510-520), founder of the city of Tampavati. Thawttag took Pagan and because there was no *Pitaka* or sacred writ, only the doctrines of the Ari-harisa at Thawttag were generally adopted.² This seems to suggest that the cult of Ari originally a Mahayana cult was already known there before the beginning of the sixth century. But the most flourishing period of the Mahayana in Thatched cities in Pagan and other centres of Upper Burma must have begun from the ninth century (from the reign of the Pala king Dharmapala, 862-882, to Iatantha) and lasted until at least the end of the thirteenth. This

Compare the accounts of the invasion of Ussatun (a part of Thaton) by Aawrahta (c. 830) in the *Humayna* (2, 54) and in the *Kavya* inscriptions, and other Burmese chronicles. The character of the account seems to convey the impression of a very flourishing existence of the Mahayana in the Thalang, up to at least the middle of the eleventh century.

¹ According to the Burmese chronicles, Buddhism may not be introduced in Burma even during the lifetime of the Buddha himself, and that it retained its purity till the cult of the Ari (originally a Mahayana cult) was introduced when the latter religion began to decline. In the opinion of later Theravadi chroniclers,

heart of the capital city—as well as by the tradition of Malay marriages in what were presumably places occupied by the Theravādin—and as already stated—also by the Nandimari inscription of 1248. Even with regard to the Arak, the attitude of the courtly people does not seem to have been very cruel and severe. Anawrahta's drive against them must have been only partially successful for the very fact that they had a strong centre with temples and monasteries just on the outskirts of the metropolitan area, that they continued to maintain themselves and were tolerated by the people around them. There is also evidence to show that their religious and ceremonial life were attended to by the court and people as well by ox-men.

Malay and Burman and its counterpart in Pagan when we see them in existence, were after all produced by only a section of the people who we may infer had not reached the maturity of their own, but the Theravāda religion, a solid state religion, a powerful religion could well afford to look at its vanquished rival with a confident smile. The two faiths seem to have lived side by side till at last the Theravāda always with the support of the throne was able to emerge completely triumphant and wipe out even the memory of its rival. But in the course of centuries some of the household gods of the Theravāda of Pagan came to include some of the elements of its earlier faiths and some of the gods of the Malay and pantheon, e.g. *Avadātseva* and *Mitoseva* were even adopted by the Theravādins. It is perhaps worth mentioning that in the Kuki countries the Malay and the Hanuys were not always distinguishable."

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

- FIG. 1 Manjuśrī. Bronze. Hinawza. For description, see p. 41.
c. 7-8th cent. A.D. A wrong identification has been suggested in the text. Indeed the figure on the crown is not Amittah but Akṣobhya, and hence the image must be one of Manjuśrī.

Mark the facial physiognomy, especially the curve of the lips, and the rather heavy modelling of the nose, which are all unlike what have up to now been found in Burma but are not uncommon in Cambodian art. It is not improbable that the image was originally carried over from some place in the old Hindu colony of Kamboja.

- " 2 Avalokiteśvara and Mātreyāśakti with the Buddha. Bronze. Pagan. c. 11-12th cent. For description, see p. 41 for descriptions of similar representations of Avalokiteśvara and Mātreyāśakti with the Buddha, see p. 1146. Dr. N. I. Krom, writing to me from Java, suggested to me that they may also represent Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi.

Note the *Harman* (a) which is two crouching gazelles which enter the scene at Sarnath, but the Buddha is depicted in *bhūṣaṇa* (a) to stop the scene at Bodhi-gayā.

- " 3 Avalokiteśvara. Bronze. Pagan. c. 10-11th cent. For description, see p. 41.

- " 4 Tara. Stone. Pagan. c. 10-11th cent. For description, see p. 41.

Slight *lambhita* pose, five arms broken, feet mutilated, *kuṇḍala*, *koṭi* (a) (a).

- Fig. 6. Probably Mañjuśrī. Bronze. Thapsakanya. Pagan
c. 10-11th cent.

Seated in *lalitāsana*; right hand in *varada mudra*. Left
resting on a knee, the *varada* *śekhara* one rise on two sides
a delightful curves forming a frame as it were. The
hair is done into a *mukuta*, consisting of long and curly
locks. The lower garment is fitted tight to the body
while a cash drape passes round the upper part of
the body.

- .. 6. Lokanātha. Bronze. Pagan. c. 10-11th cent. For des-
cription, see p. 48.

- .. 7. Lokanātha. Bronze. Pagan. 11-12th cent. For des-
cription, see p. 48.

For another recent find of what I consider to be a represen-
tation of Lokanātha see *Am. J. A. S. I.* 1900-11, Part Two,
pl. XCIV. A noteworthy feature is the written in Nagari
character of about the 11-12th cent. recording the
Buddhist formula.

- .. 8. Bodhisattva, probably Mañjuśrī. Wall painting. Nanda-
mānā temple, Minnanthu, Pagan. c. 13-14th cent.

Standing in slight *abhaya*, richly ornamented *mukuta*
śekhara, *śekhara* *śekhara* *śekhara*, *śekhara* printed or
embroidered skirt. Right hand hanging and holding in
delicate grasp a stalk of *pañcika* flower. Left hand in
abhaya mudra.

- .. 9. Bodhisattva, probably Mañjuśrī. Wall painting. A small
temple. Pagan. c. 13-14th cent.

Standing in slight *abhaya*, richly ornamented *mukuta*,
śekhara, *śekhara* *śekhara* *śekhara*, *śekhara* printed skirt.
Right hand in *abhaya mudra*, left hand hanging and
holding in delicate grasp a stalk of a *pañcika* flower.

- .. 10. Bodhisattva. Wall painting. Pāyathonzu temple,
Minnanthu, Pagan. c. 14th cent.

Standing on the pedestal ornaments which are
 here by no means, a printed skirt. Hand on
 the attitude of making offerings evidently to the Bodhi
 in the sanctum.

Fig. 11 Bodhisattva Wall painting Pagan, then to temple
Munpauthu, Pagan. c 14th cent

Standing upright with legs on two pedestal base round head, enameled with the four colors, red, blue, green, yellow, pointed short skirt hanging up to the waist, left hand domed upwards to keep a snake on stalk. Two Sakis clinging on two legs.

12	Bodhi-sattva	penk. 5	Avak-k-t-s-wars	Well painting.
	Paya-tha-su-ta-ph.	Minnanthu	Pagan	c. 14th cent.

Standing in slight oblique, ten hands holding attributes that can hardly be recognized, of them two are however held before the chest in the form of a lotus ornaments. The feet are standing on a lotus, figures printed short. Two female figures, probably Saktis seated with folded hands on two sides.

13. Belinsatten with Sakin. Wall painting. Pagan to
temp. Monantheu, Pagan. 14th cent.

standing in *tabula*, with two Saktis clinging on two sides, richly ornamented as usual, and two photo negatives of the Archaeological Survey of Burma Nos. 61 211 of 1920-21, 64 3206 of 1920-21 to 3206 of 1920-30, and 65 3213 of 1920-30.

11. Bodhi settu, perhaps Mahabodhi, Manjosi or Lokanatha
Wall painting Nandanaśvay temple, Minnanthu Pagoda
c. 14th cent. For description see pp. 11-12

Note the winged *gallies* in front which are seated on the point of the trunk of the *gallies* depicted below (not reproduced as in the tradition of the Eastern School of Art of Bengal and Bihar, to be seen on both sides of the main figure).

FIG. 12. Bodhisattva and Sakra in embrace. Wall painting, Nyaung-U temple, Minganla, Pagan, c. 11th cent.

Both standing in slight attitudes and with aureoles. Bodhisattva on right embracing Sakra with left hand and Sakra on left embracing Bodhisattva with right hand. Right hand of Bodhisattva is raised upwards while the left of Sakra is placed on the stretched-out arm of Bodhisattva. Both figures are richly ornamented and wear pointed shoes. A halo figure stands on the right of Bodhisattva.

FIG. 13. Wall painting of two figures in the western portion of the south wall of the Nyaung-U temple, Minganla, Pagan, c. 11th cent. For description see p. 100; see also *Am. R.A.S.I.*, 1930-34, pp. 181-82.

Upper panel. On the right side of the empty niche is an ornamented and crowned figure standing in slight attitude and holding a ring in the right hand and what seems to be more like a dagger than a sword in the left. On the left side is a similar figure holding a trident in the right and a ring in the left hand. They are probably empty *dravapalas*.

The middle band shows six scenes which are difficult to identify. They seem to allude to some stories and some of them are supposed to be Tanka characters.

Lower panel. The two upper figures seated in *ardha padmasana* are undoubtedly Avalokitesvara and Manjara respectively. The two figures seated below may tentatively be identified as Skanda or Kartikeya and Naga respectively. The former holds a shield in the right and what seems to be a trident in the left. The latter holds a club in the right and a sword in the left. Both wear what seems to be felt boots. For the representations of other divinities with felt boots, see *Am. R.A.S.I.*, 1930-34, p. 181. This also comes from the same Nyaung-U temple.

- Pl. 17. Lokanatha. Wall painting. Abeyadana temple. Myingagan. Pagan. 11th cent. For description see p. 59.
- .. 18. Bhadradeva. Wall painting. Abeyadana temple. Myingagan. Pagan. 11th cent. For description see pp. 60-61.
- .. 19. Sakta. Wall painting (outline copy). Abeyadana temple, Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent.
 Goddess seated on lotus throne on a pedestal, six hands (two on two sides in the front, one on the right in the back, and others in various other positions). Ornaments, a lotus flower, lotus petals, makkhala, kusudala, and printed skirt.
- .. 20. Protapayitaya. Wall painting (outline copy). Abeyadana temple, Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent.
 Goddess seated on a lotus seat in the front, two hands as if in prayer. To the right rises a stalk with lotus in half bloom, jewels and ornaments, printed sash and skirt.
- .. 21. Lokanatha. Wall painting (outline copy). Abeyadana temple, Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent.
 Crowned and adorned deity seated on a lotus throne on a lotus seat. Right hand in the front and left in the back (gesture), to the left rises a lotus stalk with ornaments flanked by two adorned and ornamented devaputras.
- .. 22. Siva riding the bull Nandi. Wall painting. Abeyadana temple, Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent. For description, see p. 57, f. n. 3.
- .. 23. Yamuna riding her chariot on the tortoise. Wall painting. Abeyadana temple. Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent. For description, see p. 57, f. n. 3.
- .. 24. Protapayitaya riding her chariot on the tortoise. Wall painting (outline copy). Abeyadana temple. Myingagan. Pagan. c. 11th cent.



Vishnu Anantashayana with hands folded probably in adoration to the Buddha in the sanctum. Note the Gharuda holding a pair of snakes in his talons and carrying the *hamsa* in his beak, note also the *paśa* in one of the left hands of Vishnu and an unidentifiable object in one of his right.

Plat. 25 Three headed Brahman sitting his catamite the *hamsa*. Wall painting—uttharanga. Aleyadana temple Myingagan Pagan. c. 11th cent.

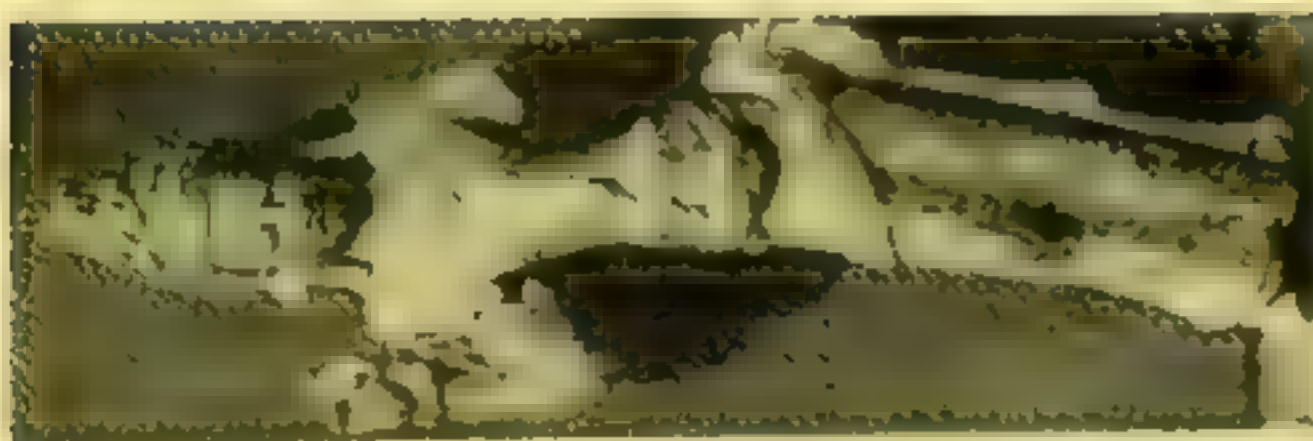
„ 26 Siva. Wall painting. Aleyadana temple, Myingagan, Pagan. c. 11th cent. For description see p. 60 where I suggested a wrong identification. The attributes of Siva viz. the *trishula*, the *skanda* and the *trident* are too clear to be missed.

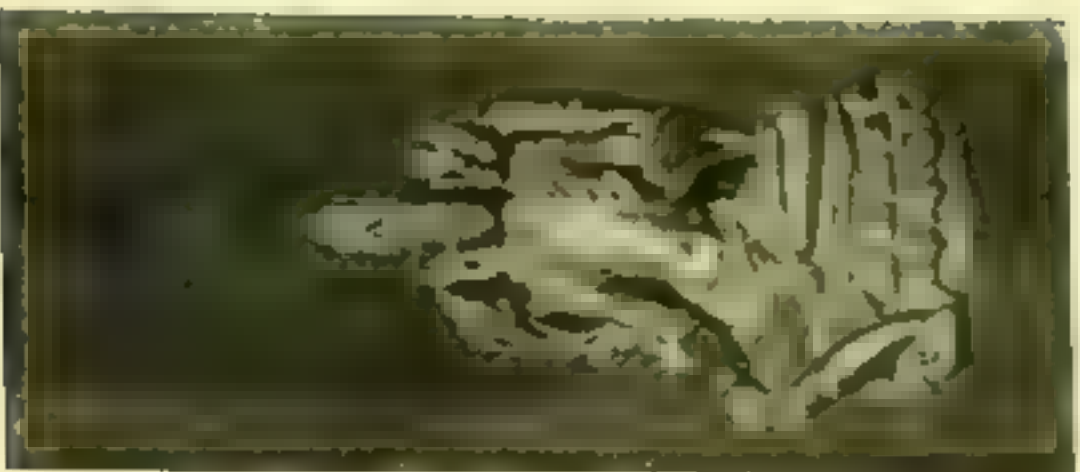
For other Brahmanical representations in the Aleyadana, see *Am. R. A. S. J.*, 1930-34, p. 163.

For description of some of the more paintings in the Aleyadana and Kalyaṅki temples Myingagan Pagan representing gods and goddesses of Buddhist Buddhism and also of Brahmanism, see *Am. R. A. S. J.* 1930-34 pp. 161-64.

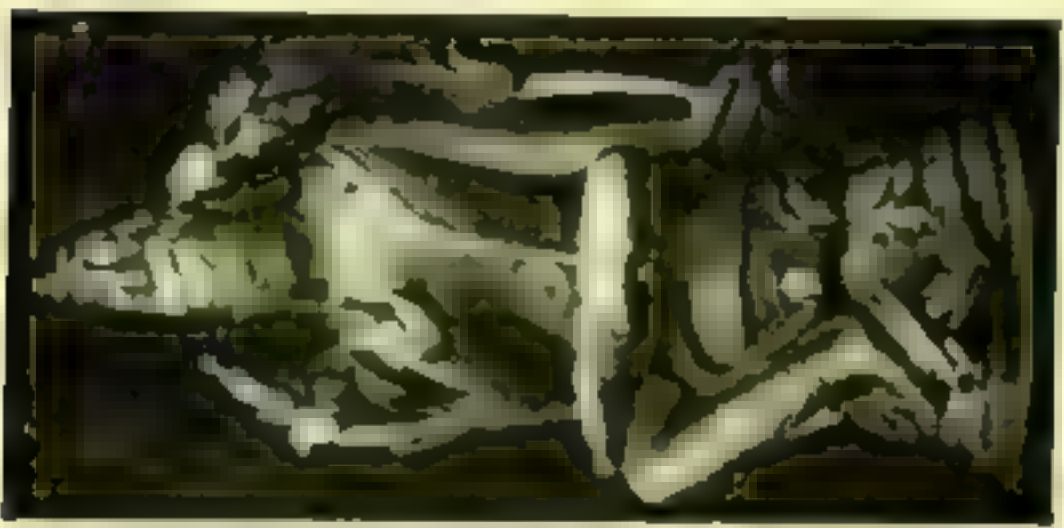


PLATES





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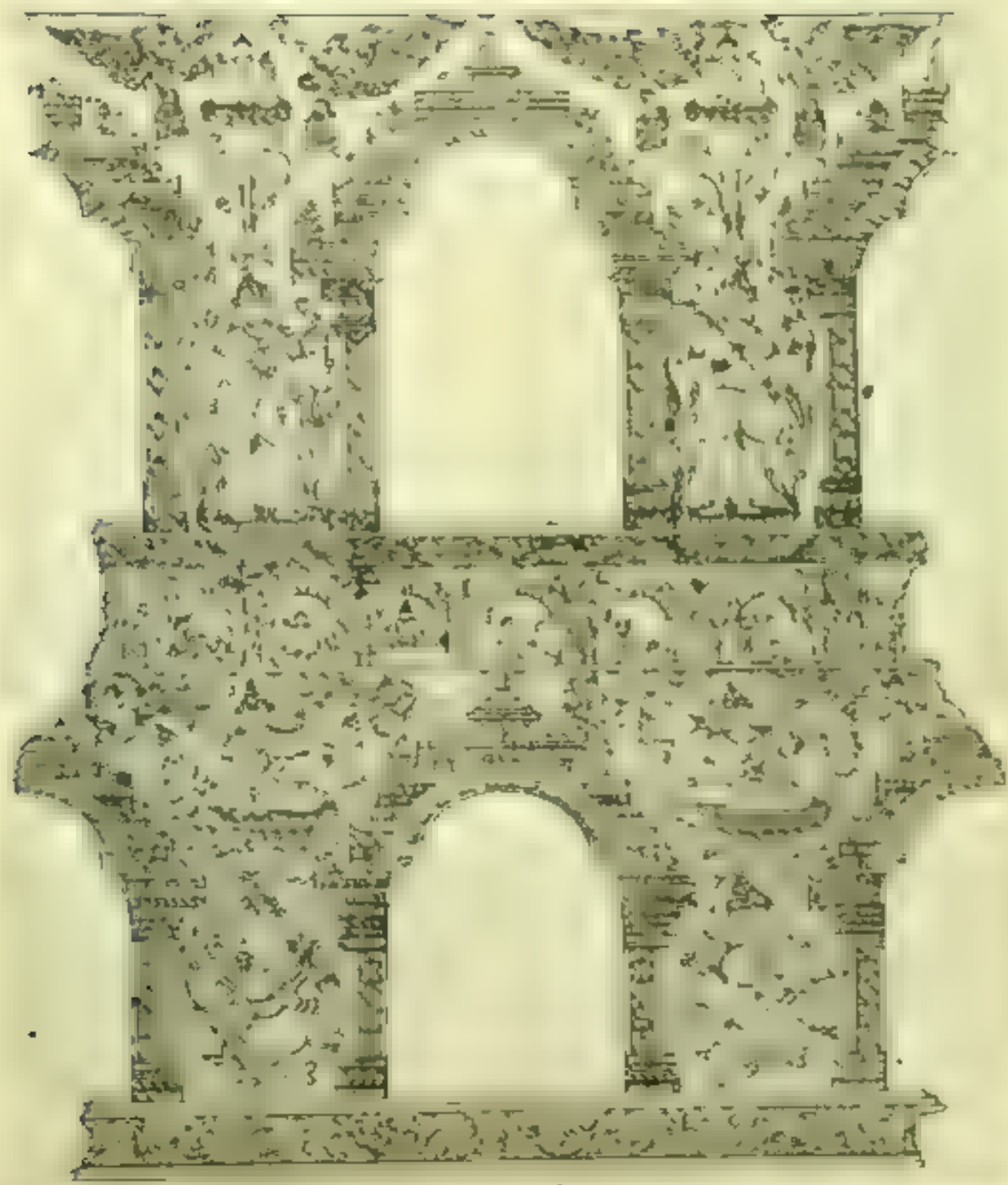


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